United Nations S/PV.4406

Security Council

Fifty-sixth year

Provisional

4406th meeting

Thursday, 8 November 2001, 3 p.m.

New York

President:	Miss Durrant	(Jamaica)
Members:	Bangladesh	Mr. Amin
	China	Mr. Wang Yingfan
	Colombia	Mr. Valdivieso
	France	Mr. Levitte
	Ireland	Mr. Corr
	Mali	Mr. Ouane
	Mauritius	Mr. Koonjul
	Norway	Mr. Kolby
	Russian Federation	Mr. Granovsky
	Singapore	Mr. Mahbubani
	Tunisia	Mr. Tekaya
	Ukraine	Mr. Krokhmal
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Ms. Howe-Jones
	United States of America	Mr. Scott

Agenda

The situation in Burundi.

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

01-62602 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 3.15 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Burundi

The President: In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, and in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite The Honourable James Wapakhabulo, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Uganda and Chairman of the Regional Peace Initiative on Burundi; Mr. Térence Sinunguruza, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of Burundi; Mr. Léonard She Okitundu, Minister for Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation of the Democratic Republic of the Congo; the representatives of Ethiopia and Kenya; Mr. Patrick Mazimhaka, Special Envoy of the President of Rwanda; The Honourable Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete, Minister for Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation of the United Republic of Tanzania; the representative of Gabon; Mr. Hackman Owusu-Agyemang, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ghana; the representatives of Nigeria and South Africa; and The Honourable Keli S. Walubita, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Zambia, to take seats at the Council table.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Wapakhabulo (Uganda), Mr. Sinunguruza (Burundi), Mr. She Okitundu (Democratic Republic of the Congo), Mr. Hussein (Ethiopia), Mr. Jalang'o (Kenya), Mr. Mazimhaka (Rwanda), Mr. Kikwete (United Republic of Tanzania), Mr. Dangue Réwaka (Gabon), Mr. Owusu-Agyemang (Ghana), Mr. Apata (Nigeria), Mr. Kumalo (South Africa) and Mr. Walubita (Zambia) took seats at the Council table.

The President: In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations and rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite Mr. Berhanu Dinka, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for the Great Lakes Region and Chairman of the Implementation Monitoring Committee, to take a seat at the Council table.

In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations and rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite Mr. Amadou Kébé, Permanent Observer for the Organization of African Unity, to take a seat at the side of the Council Chamber.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

I shall now give the floor to Mr. Berhanu Dinka, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for the Great Lakes Region and Chairman of the Implementation Monitoring Committee.

Mr. Dinka: As the Security Council is aware, on 1 November 2001, the Transitional Government of National Unity was inaugurated in Burundi. That solemn occasion was witnessed by the Presidents of the United Republic of Tanzania, Nigeria, Zambia, Malawi and Rwanda, as well as by the facilitator of the Burundi peace process, Nelson Mandela, the Deputy Presidents of South Africa and Uganda and the Secretary General of the Organization of African Unity (OAU). I represented the Secretary-General of the United Nations, and the European Union was represented by its Special Representative for the Great Lakes region, Mr. Aldo Aiello. A number of other African States were represented at the ministerial level.

During the week leading up to the main event, important preparatory measures were undertaken. On 27 October, the National Assembly adopted a transitional constitution, which will guide the work of the Transitional Government during the coming three years. The first group of the special protection unit has arrived from South Africa. A number of political leaders have returned from exile to participate in the new Government.

The inauguration of the Transitional Government constitutes a significant step in the implementation of the Arusha Peace and Reconciliation Agreement. The momentum created by that event should be built upon in order to consolidate and render irreversible the hard-won gains. The people of Burundi, as well as the friends of Burundi and all those who supported or participated in the peace process, are hopeful that the installation of the Transitional Government will usher in a new and historic era of reconciliation, tolerance and peace. It is now up to the Burundian political leaders, with support from the region and from the international community at large, to ensure the success

of the transitional institutions. That is the only way that durable peace and stability can be guaranteed. Failure is not an option.

In his statement at the inauguration, President Buyoya set out the priorities of the Transitional Government. They are: ceasefire negotiations, commune-level council elections, repatriation of refugees, rebuilding of infrastructure, reform of the security and judicial systems, *et cetera*. He appealed to the countries of the subregion, the facilitation and the international community to continue to assist, so that those priorities can be achieved. He indicated that his Government would approach the Security Council in due course to create an international judicial commission of inquiry to investigate possible cases of genocide, war crimes and other crimes against humanity, while his Government would set up a national truth and reconciliation commission as provided for by the Arusha Agreement.

The facilitator, Madiba Nelson Mandela, has announced that his task as facilitator has now been completed, and that he is now "passing the baton" to the Implementation Monitoring Committee (IMC). He will, however, continue to serve as moral guarantor of the Arusha Agreement, and will be represented on the IMC. We are all grateful to him.

What has been achieved so far would not have been possible without the initiative of the leaders of the subregion, the relentless efforts deployed in turn by two of Africa's most renowned statesmen — the late Mwalimu Julius Nyerere and Madiba Nelson Mandela — and the generous support and encouragement of the international community. As a result there is today strong reason for cautious optimism.

But we must not lose sight of the fact that there are unfinished and challenging tasks ahead. First among them is the issue of the ceasefire, because so long as violence persists the peace process will remain fragile. The two armed groups — the Forces pour la Défense de la Démocratie (FDD) and the Forces Nationales de Libération (FNL) — have stepped up pressure against Government forces in recent days. The two armed groups must realize, and the international community must send them a clear signal, that the time has now come for them to put down their arms and without delay join their compatriots in the search for durable peace in Burundi; that it is time to put an end to the killing, to the suffering of innocent people and to the devastation of the country; that it is time to reconcile and to move the country on towards much-needed reconstruction and development.

There are other challenges as well. As members may recall, the decision to deploy a regional force in Burundi was necessitated by the fact that an all-Burundian special protection unit could not be trained before 1 November. Consequently, it was decided that, pending the completion of training by Burundians coming from the army and from the G-7 group of parties, troops from South Africa, Ghana, Nigeria and Senegal should provide protection to political leaders returning from exile. The presence of the regional force, therefore, is only a stopgap measure. The training of an all-Burundian special protection force which will take over from the regional force remains a priority.

The regional force which is already in place in Burundi has the capacity to carry out the task of protecting returning politicians while at the same time undertaking the task of training. There is, however, an urgent need for the international community to provide the force with the financial and material resources it needs to accomplish its dual mandate. The deployment of foreign forces, even when they are from the region, requires a significant resource outlay. The only way to bring down costs and at the same time ensure the long-term success of the transitional arrangement is immediately to initiate the training of a national protection unit with a view to replacing the regional force with an all-Burundian special protection unit as soon as possible.

The other major challenge that must be tackled on a priority basis is the reconstruction and development of the country. Now that the Transitional Government is in place, the Burundian population, which has been suffering for years, should be made to see in a concrete way that what happened last week was more than a power-sharing arrangement among the country's political elite. The only way to ensure that the population of Burundi continues to support the peace process long after the current euphoria of the moment has worn off is if their lives are positively affected by the changes. It is imperative that there be a peace dividend. The international community can bring that about by resuming in a significant way its socio-economic development cooperation and enhancing its

humanitarian assistance, qualitatively and quantitatively.

The international community has supported the Burundi peace process since its inception. The installation of the Transitional Government on 1 November has created an even more propitious atmosphere for that support and cooperation not only to continue but also to expand. The Security Council may therefore wish to consider calling on the two armed groups — the FDD and the FNL — to engage the new Government in serious negotiations and to conclude a ceasefire agreement without delay; expressing support for the regional special protection unit already in Bujumbura and calling on all Burundian parties to cooperate with it to enable the contingent to carry out its tasks freely, expeditiously and without any hindrance; urging strongly all those in a position to do so, particularly the donor community, to stay the course and to provide adequate financial resources to enable the regional special protection unit successfully to carry out its double mandate of providing protection and training a Burundian special protection unit; calling on all the Burundian signatory parties to respect the independence of and cooperate fully with the IMC in the discharge of its mandate under the Arusha Agreement; and calling on donor countries and institutions to release all resources that have been destined for Burundi's socio-economic development but that remain undisbursed so far, including those resources pledged in Paris in December of last year.

That would go a long way in assisting the Transitional Government of Burundi to consolidate the peace process by responding to the needs of its people. Donors should also be urged to enhance their humanitarian assistance to Burundi.

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Senegal, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Fall (Senegal) took a seat at the Council table.

The President: I call now on the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Uganda, The Honourable James W. Wapakhabulo, Chairman of the Regional Peace Initiative on Burundi.

Mr. Wapakhabulo (Uganda): On behalf of the regional ministerial representatives on the Regional Peace Initiative on Burundi, I congratulate you, Madam President, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. Let me also thank your predecessor, the Permanent Representative of Ireland, for his leadership during his presidency of the Council last month. I wish you, Madam President, and all the other members of the Council, successful deliberations on this and all the other issues on the Council's agenda.

The conflict in Burundi has been on the Council's agenda for some time now. I salute the Council for its partnership with the Great Lakes Regional Initiative in the search for a permanent solution to the conflict in Burundi. Indeed, the forum accorded to us today is a clear demonstration that the Security Council continues to be an ally as it executes its Charter responsibility of ensuring international peace and security.

Former President Nelson Mandela of South Africa, the facilitator of the Burundi peace negotiations, may be making a presentation to the Council on the peace process at some later date. However, allow me to update the Council on the recent developments resulting from the Regional Initiative on Burundi.

Nineteen Burundian political parties signed on 28 August 2000 the Arusha Peace and Reconciliation Agreement, which provides for a three-year Transitional Government. The Transitional Government was successfully inaugurated on 1 November this year. President Buyoya will be the leader for the first 18 months, deputized by Mr. Domitien Ndayizeye of the G7-Hutu alliance parties, and the reverse will apply for the next 18 months of the transition, although personalities may change. There will also be a pro rata power sharing arrangement in the Cabinet, Parliament, army and other State institutions.

The swearing in of the Transitional Government in Burundi on 1 November this year will go down in the annals of African history as the day of the first step towards tangible peace in Burundi. For us in the region it is significant that our initiative and efforts have been able to bear fruit. I congratulate the people of Burundi on their commitment and determination to find a peaceful solution of the conflict in their country.

The region wishes to pay special tribute to the late Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, who set the course for the negotiations, and to his successor, Nelson Mandela, for his extraordinary resolve and leadership in facilitating peace negotiations in Burundi. We commend them for a job well done.

The contribution of the United Nations and the international community to the peace process cannot be overemphasized. We particularly acknowledge the European Union for the financial support it has given so far.

However, there should be no celebrations yet. The daunting challenge is to consolidate what has been achieved so far and to ensure further progress by supporting the Transitional Government during this delicate phase of implementing the Arusha Peace and Reconciliation Agreement.

As the Council will appreciate, one bit of unfinished business relates to the participation of the Burundian armed opposition, namely, the Conseil national pour la défense de la démocratie (CNDD)/Front for la défense de la démocratie (FDD) and the Pelipehutu Forces nationales pour la libération (FNL). These armed groups did not participate in the negotiations that led to the August 2000 Agreement and have not agreed to a ceasefire. The position of the region is that negotiations, facilitated by President Omar Bongo of Gabon and Deputy President Jacob Zuma of South Africa will continue between the Transitional Government and the armed opposition.

We call upon the Security Council as a whole and individual members of the Council to bring their influence to bear on these groups so that they agree to take part in ceasefire negotiations. We assure the Security Council that we are prepared to work with it to bring the armed groups into the peace process, and we are also prepared to take the necessary measures should the CNDD/FDD and the Pelipehutu FNL remain intransigent in the peace process for Burundi.

The other major challenges during the implementation phase relate to the formation of a new national army, Parliament and other institutions of the transition. The Transitional Government and the Implementation Monitoring Committee for the Arusha Peace Agreement will need continuous support and encouragement from the Council.

The link between the conflicts in Burundi and in the Democratic Republic of the Congo has hitherto been a complicating factor in the search for peace in the Great Lakes region. For the first time the prospects of a ceasefire in Burundi bring us closer to an opportunity to turn the negative forces in the Democratic Republic of the Congo into positive forces in Burundi and reduce the magnitude of the task for the third phase of the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo in the imminent disarmament, demobilization, reintegration, repatriation, or resettlement exercise in that country.

According to the Arusha Peace and Reconciliation Agreement, it is envisaged that the Security Council will mandate a peacekeeping force in Burundi. However, the regional leaders agreed that, while they were awaiting a resolution of the Council mandating the deployment of a peacekeeping force, a regional force should be formed and deployed for various functions entailed in the Agreement. In this respect, a special protection unit to protect political leaders has already been deployed in Burundi. We take this opportunity to thank the Republic of South Africa for offering 700 of its troops, who are already on the ground in Burundi. Troops from Nigeria, Ghana and Senegal are expected to follow. All this demonstrates the seriousness of the region about seeing to it that the conflict is finally put to rest. Regional arrangements will, however, need to be buttressed by the United Nations, especially during this delicate phase.

In conclusion, we have a Transitional Government in Bujumbura. But let us have no illusion about the peace process in Burundi. The challenge of sustaining the achievements of the Arusha process remains. It is extremely important that a ceasefire be urgently put in place in Burundi in order to allow for the deployment of a United Nations peacekeeping force under Chapter VII of the Charter and the involvement of the armed groups — FDD and FNL — in the power-sharing arrangement. We therefore call upon the Security Council and its individual members to positively and actively support the second track of the

Regional Initiative under President Bongo of Gabon and Deputy President Jacob Zuma of South Africa for a ceasefire agreement in Burundi.

Secondly, we ask the Security Council to send a strong message that it is prepared to commit an adequate United Nations peacekeeping force as soon as a ceasefire is in place in Burundi.

Thirdly, we call on the United Nations and the international community to mobilize the necessary resources for humanitarian assistance and economic recovery in support of the peace process in Burundi. It is important that the Transitional Government should receive adequate assistance to enable it to provide social services and to handle the return and resettlement of refugees and internally displaced persons.

The President: I thank the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Uganda for his kind words addressed to me.

I shall now make a statement as President of the Security Council.

It is my honour to welcome to the Security Council the members of the Regional Peace Initiative on Burundi. I extend a cordial welcome on behalf of the members of the Security Council to the ministers and representatives of Uganda, Burundi, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, South Africa, the United Republic of Tanzania and Zambia, as well as to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for the Great Lakes Region and Chairman of the Implementation Monitoring Committee and to the Permanent Observer of the Organization of African Unity.

Let me in the first instance express appreciation to Ambassador Jean-David Levitte of France, whose idea it was to convene such a dialogue, which was unable to be held as planned due to the events of 11 September.

The meeting of the Regional Peace Initiative on Burundi with the Security Council today is a momentous one. On 1 November, the Transitional Government of National Unity in Burundi was inaugurated. This is indeed a defining period in the history of Burundi and its long suffering people. To all of us, the establishment of the Transitional Government is a significant milestone, as it ushers in a new political dispensation within the country. We would like to congratulate President Buyoya, Vice-President Domitien Ndayizeye and all other members of the Transitional Government and wish them every success in charting a new path for the Burundian people.

We pay special tribute to the facilitator, Madiba Nelson Mandela, the regional leaders and the Burundian parties for their untiring efforts in making the Transitional Government a reality. They may rest assured that the Security Council remains committed to the process of peace in Burundi and will remain actively engaged to ensure that the momentum gained so far will not be lost. Every effort must be made by the international community and the Security Council to ensure that what has been achieved so far is not eroded.

The main purpose of today's meeting is to have an exchange of views on the implementation of the Arusha Peace and Reconciliation Agreement. The Security Council on its part has endeavoured to and will maintain a spirit of partnership with the Burundian peace process. The dialogue between the Security Council and the Regional Peace Initiative on Burundi attests to the will of the Council to remain actively engaged in the process.

We recall that, at our last meeting during the Security Council mission to the Great Lakes region, there were fruitful deliberations which ensued and which we hope to continue today. It is our hope that, emanating from our discussions today, we can ascertain how the United Nations can help in the post-transition period as the new Burundian Government addresses the many challenges which lie ahead. The most critical priority is the cessation of hostilities and for the armed groups to involve themselves in the political life of the country through dialogue and negotiations. We reiterate our call to the armed groups to cooperate with the Transitional Government in order to ensure its representation in the broad-based Government which is envisaged.

The Security Council is also fully supportive of the regional special protection force, which is aimed at protecting the returning political exiles. On October 29, the Security Council adopted resolution 1375 (2001) expressing its support for this initiative. It is therefore imperative that all parties cooperate to ensure that normalcy is returned to the country. We commend the Government of South Africa, which has taken the first

step in deploying troops, and look forward to the subsequent deployment of troops from Senegal, Nigeria and Ghana.

The success of the transitional institutions is the only guarantee of durable peace and stability in Burundi. Failure, on the other hand, could result in chaos and continuing crisis in the Great Lakes region. Consequently, the support of the international community is critical.

Now that the Transitional Government is in place, attention must be paid to the deteriorating humanitarian and human rights situation in that country. Every effort must be made to revive the economic well-being of the people of Burundi by improving their socio-economic condition. The international community, including the Security Council stands, ready to assist in this regard.

We look forward to a more detailed discussion in the private meeting which follows.

In accordance with the understanding reached in our prior consultations, I shall now adjourn this meeting and invite the Council members and all invitees to attend the private meeting within the next five minutes.

May I invite the non-Council members to leave this Chamber so that we can proceed with our private meeting.

The meeting rose at 3.45 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.4407

Security Council

Distr.: General
8 November 2001

Original: English

Official communiqué of the 4407th (closed) meeting of the Security Council

Held in private at Headquarters, New York, on Thursday, 8 November 2001, at 3.50 p.m.

In accordance with rule 55 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, the following communiqué was issued through the Secretary-General in place of a verbatim record.

"At its 4407th meeting, held in private on 8 November 2001 at 3.50 p.m., the Security Council continued its consideration of the situation in Burundi.

"The President extended invitations in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rules 37 and 39 of its provisional rules of procedure, as appropriate, to the members of the Regional Peace Initiative on Burundi, as well as the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for the Great Lakes Region and Chairman of the Implementation Monitoring Committee and the Permanent Observer of the Organization of African Unity/African Union.

"The members of the Council and the members of the Regional Peace Initiative on Burundi had a frank and constructive discussion."

01-62608 (E) 081101

United Nations S/PV.4408

Security Council

Fifty-sixth year

Provisional

4408th meeting

Thursday, 8 November 2001, 6.30 p.m.

New York

President:	Miss Durrant	(Jamaica)
Members:	Bangladesh	Mr. Amin
	China	Mr. Wang Donghua
	Colombia	Mr. Ocaziones
	France	Mr. Lamek
	Ireland	Mr. Corr
	Mali	Mr. Kassé
	Mauritius	Mr. Jingree
	Norway	Mr. Kolby
	Russian Federation	Mr. Konuzin
	Singapore	Mr. How
	Tunisia	Mr. Tekaya
	Ukraine	Ms. Filipenko
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Ms. Howe-Jones
	United States of America	Mr. Scott

Agenda

The situation in Burundi.

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01-62614 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 6.30 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Burundi

The President: The Security Council will now continue its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

After consultation among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council welcomes the 1 November 2001 inauguration of Burundi's Transitional Government, and calls on all Burundians to support it and work together to ensure the success of this broad-based and inclusive government's fulfilling its functions in accordance with the agreements that led to its establishment.

"The Security Council welcomes the continued engagement of the Regional Initiative and, in this regard, also welcomes the deployment of the first elements of the multinational security presence tasked with the protection of returning political leaders. The Council calls on all the Burundian parties to support this undertaking, and expresses its gratitude to the Government of South Africa for its contribution to the cause of peace in Burundi.

"The Security Council expresses its deep appreciation to former President Nelson Mandela for his dedicated service as facilitator of the Arusha Peace Process, and reiterates its hope that the region and the international community may continue to rely on his moral leadership. The Council welcomes the efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative for the Great Lakes, through the Implementation Monitoring Committee.

"The Security Council condemns the recent attacks by the FDD and FNL on civilians, and is gravely concerned that the frequency of such attacks has increased. The Council once again states that the installation of a broad-based government in accordance with an internationally supported peace process makes armed rebellion an unacceptable means of political expression.

"The Security Council reiterates its call for an immediate suspension of hostilities in Burundi and for the armed groups to enter into negotiations to reach a definitive ceasefire, which is the priority issue. In this regard, the Council welcomes the involvement of President Bongo of Gabon and Deputy President Zuma of South Africa and expresses its full support for their efforts.

"The Security Council expresses its concern at the human rights and humanitarian situation in Burundi and once again calls on the responsible parties to ensure full compliance with the relevant international conventions.

"The Security Council calls on the international community to increase its humanitarian assistance, as well as to assist in Burundi's economic recovery and development through, inter alia, honouring the pledges made at the Paris donors' conference."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/2001/33.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 6.35 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.4409

Security Council

Fifty-sixth year

Provisional

4409th meeting

Friday, 9 November 2001, 10.35 a.m.

New York

President:	Miss Durrant	(Jamaica)
Members:	Bangladesh	Mr. Amin
	China	Mr. Shen Guofang
	Colombia	Mr. Valdivieso
	France	Mr. Doutriaux
	Ireland	Mr. Corr
	Mali	Mr. Kassé
	Mauritius	Mr. Koonjul
	Norway	Mr. Kolby
	Russian Federation	Mr. Gatilov
	Singapore	Mr. Yap
	Tunisia	Mr. Jerandi
	Ukraine	Mr. Kulyk
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Eldon
	United States of America	Mr. Rostow

Agenda

Security Council resolutions 1160 (1998), 1199 (1998), 1203 (1998), 1239 (1999) and 1244 (1999).

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01-62620 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 10.35 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Security Council resolutions 1160 (1998), 1199 (1998), 1203 (1998), 1239 (1999) and 1244 (1999)

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Yugoslavia to the United Nations, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Šahović (Yugoslavia) took a seat at the Council table.

The President: The Security Council will now continue its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/2001/1051, which contains the text of a letter dated 6 November 2001 from the Permanent Representative of Yugoslavia to the United Nations transmitting a letter from the President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

> "The Security Council welcomes the progress made in preparing the Kosovo-wide elections on 17 November 2001 and calls on the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and all parties concerned to continue to strive for full implementation of resolution 1244 (1999) of 10 June 1999. It further calls upon all women and men of Kosovo, Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, to vote.
>
> "The Security Council welcomes the helpful role played by the President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Governments of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Serbia in recommending Kosovo Serb participation in the elections. Participation will allow them to take part in shaping Kosovo's multi-ethnic future.
>
> "The Security Council welcomes the signing on 5 November 2001 of the UNMIK-FRY Common Document by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and the Special Representative of the President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Government of the Republic of Serbia. This document is consistent with resolution 1244 (1999) and the Constitutional Framework for Provisional Self-Government in Kosovo.
>
> "The Security Council reaffirms the statement of its President of 5 October 2001 (S/PRST/2001/27). It encourages the further development of a constructive dialogue between the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) and the authorities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. It emphasizes the responsibility of the provisional institutions of self-government and all concerned to respect fully the final status provisions of resolution 1244 (1999). It underlines its continued commitment to the full implementation of resolution 1244 (1999), which remains the basis for building Kosovo's future."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/2001/34.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 10:40 a.m.

United Nations S/PV.4410

Security Council

Fifty-sixth year

Provisional

4410th meeting

Friday, 9 November 2001, 11.15 a.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Patterson	(Jamaica)
Members:	Bangladesh	Mr. Amin
	China	Mr. Wang Yingfan
	Colombia	Mr. Valdivieso
	France	Mr. Levitte
	Ireland	Mr. Corr
	Mali	Mr. Ouane
	Mauritius	Mr. Koonjul
	Norway	Mr. Kolby
	Russian Federation	Mr. Granovsky
	Singapore	Mr. Mahbubani
	Tunisia	Mr. Mejdoub
	Ukraine	Mr. Krokhmal
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Jeremy Greenstock
	United States of America	Mr. Cunningham

Agenda

The situation concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

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01-62870 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 11.20 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo

The President: In accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite The Honourable João Bernardo de Miranda, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Angola and current Chairman of the Political Committee of the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement; Mr. Térence Sinunguruza, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of Burundi; Mr. Léonard She Okitundu, Minister for Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation of the Democratic Republic of the Congo; The Honourable Tuliameni Kalomoh, Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs, Information and Broadcasting of Namibia; Mr. Patrick Mazimhaka, Special Envoy of the President of Rwanda; The Honourable James Wapakhabulo, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Uganda; The Honourable Keli S. Walubita, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Zambia; and The Honourable Stanislaus I.G. Mudenge, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Zimbabwe, to take seats at the Council table.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. de Miranda (Angola), Mr. Sinunguruza (Burundi), Mr. She Okitundu (Democratic Republic of the Congo), Mr. Kalomoh (Namibia), Mr. Mazimhaka (Rwanda), Mr. Wapakhabulo (Uganda), Mr. Walubita (Zambia) and Mr. Mudenge (Zimbabwe) took seats at the Council table.

The President: In accordance with rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite Mr. Amos Namanga Ngongi, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and Mr. Amadou Kébé, Permanent Observer of the Organization of African Unity/African Union, to take seats at the Council table. I invite Mr. Archibald M. Mogwe, representative of the facilitator for the inter-Congolese dialogue, to take a seat at the side of the Council Chamber. I invite Mr. Olivier Kamitatu, Secretary-General of the Movement for the Liberation of the Congo (MLC); Mr. Azarias Ruberwa, Secretary-General of the Congolese Rally for Democracy (RCD-Goma); and Mr. Pashi-Claver, representative of the Congolese Rally for Democracy-Kisangani (RCD-K), to take seats at the Council table.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

I now give the floor to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan.

The Secretary-General: Let me first say how happy I am, Mr. President, to see you presiding over this meeting.

Let me also welcome the Political Committee of the Lusaka Agreement. I hope that this meeting with the Security Council will enable all parties to agree to move forward together in the peace process.

In my last report to the Council, I recommended that the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) be authorized to enter phase III of its deployment. For that deployment to succeed, however, the parties themselves must live up to their responsibilities. I would therefore like to reiterate some of my concerns.

First and foremost, the fighting in the east of the country must stop. No one should give any further support to the armed groups that continue to fight in the east, and no one should take any further aggressive action against them.

At the same time, everything possible must be done to create conditions that will encourage former combatants to return voluntarily to their homes, and enable them to be settled safely.

(*spoke in French*)

The Democratic Republic of the Congo and Rwanda must reach an understanding on the process of the disarmament, demobilization and repatriation of combatants, and on the creation of a coordination mechanism to facilitate a smooth transition from disarmament to reintegration.

Kisangani must be demilitarized, in accordance with resolution 1304 (2000). I call on the Rassemblement congolais pour la démocratie (RCD) to implement, without further delay, the measures proposed to that end by my Special Representative, Mr. Ngongi. It is also my intention to strengthen the

military presence of MONUC in Kisangani in order to facilitate the demilitarization of that city.

The deployment of MONUC at Kindu is aimed at creating a climate of security, encouraging the armed groups to disarm. I therefore note with concern the decision of the RCD and the Mouvement pour la libération du Congo (MLC) to establish a special joint force based at Kindu that would be in charge of tracking down and neutralizing all negative forces. Kindu must in no instance be used as a base for the launching of military operations.

(*spoke in English*)

The withdrawal of the Namibian troops and, also, many of the Ugandan troops from the territory of the Democratic Republic of the Congo is encouraging. I strongly urge the Angolan, Zimbabwean and Rwandan Governments to speed up preparations for the rapid withdrawal of their troops.

The reopening of the River Congo and its tributaries is the most important single step that can now be taken to reunite the country and stimulate economic and social life. I call on all parties to help MONUC to do its part in achieving that objective, notably by dismantling checkpoints and removing any other remaining barriers to free movement.

I urge members of the Political Committee, especially the Congolese parties, to support the neutral facilitator of the inter-Congolese dialogue, Sir Ketumile Masire, and I welcome the willingness of the Government of South Africa to host the dialogue when it resumes. But the Congolese parties should not wait for this formal resumption. I hope they will continue to meet informally for constructive discussions on the country's future.

I would also urge the three Congolese parties to continue efforts to improve human rights within the areas they control. All those in authority have a duty to investigate alleged violations and to take appropriate action. The international community will judge them by the actions they take or fail to take. The Congolese parties must also facilitate access for those seeking to bring humanitarian relief to the suffering population in the areas they control.

And finally, not enough is being done to address the plight of children, particularly those who have been inducted into the various armed forces. I urge all members of the Political Committee, especially the Congolese parties, to work with the United Nations Children's Fund and my Special Representative for Children and Armed Conflict, as well as with MONUC's child protection officers, to draw up and implement agreements on demobilizing child soldiers as soon as possible.

The peace process in the Democratic Republic of the Congo may be at a turning point. At stake is the reunification of the country after years of war. MONUC stands ready to make a decisive contribution by deploying to the East. As the Security Council prepares to take action on my recommendations, I call on the parties to fulfil their important responsibilities and so bring to completion the peace process they began in Lusaka more than two years ago.

The President: I now have great pleasure in giving the floor to the Chairman of the Political Committee of the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement, the Honourable João Bernardo de Miranda, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Angola.

Mr. Miranda (Angola) (*spoke in Portuguese; interpretation provided by the delegation*): It is a great honour for me to address this forum in my capacity as Chairman of the Political Committee of the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement. Allow me first to commend the initiative to convene this joint meeting with the members of the Security Council. Although this has become a routine practice, it is more important than ever today because it occurs on the eve of a decisive stage in the implementation of the Lusaka Agreement in the Democratic Republic of the Congo: the launching of phase III of the deployment of the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC).

The fundamental reason for this meeting is to determine together how to ensure the maintenance and strengthening of the ceasefire, to achieve the disarmament and demobilization of the armed groups, to accelerate the withdrawal of foreign forces, to step up the internal dialogue and, most important, to contribute substantially to the restoration of peace and stability to the Democratic Republic of the Congo. These tasks are crucial, urgent and unavoidable. Their successful implementation can make the difference between pursuing the path of lasting peace or returning to large-scale warfare and insecurity, not only in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, but in the Great Lakes region as a whole.

The progress achieved to date in the implementation of the Lusaka Agreement raises hope and optimism for the effective completion of future stages. The most important of these advances has been the ceasefire. Despite some setbacks, which are very common in efforts of such complexity, the observation of the ceasefire by the parties demonstrates their will to end the war and to resolve their problems peacefully. It also shows that there can be no military solution to the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

We are still concerned, however, by the ongoing military activities in parts of the country, particularly in the eastern Congo, involving the forces of some signatories to the Agreement and of others that are not parties to the ceasefire. If it continues, this situation may imperil the ceasefire and launch a new wave of hostilities.

It is up to us to find an effective political solution to this problem. The solution should not be limited to the suspension of military aid to armed groups. We must also provide the conditions and guarantees for disarmament, demobilization, repatriation, resettlement and full reintegration of all armed groups living in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

A positive step in this direction was the recent measure announced by the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo to disarm about 3,000 former Burundian combatants now living in Kamina. We praise this step, which is so propitious for the Lusaka Agreement. It is very important to emphasize that the combatants must see an alternative to war. They must be encouraged to abandon their weapons and return to their land. They must be given effective guarantees of physical integrity and a prospect of social reintegration for themselves and their families.

With the completion of the disengagement and force deployment, despite minor problems that have arisen, the total withdrawal of Namibian forces and the partial withdrawal of Angolan, Ugandan and Zimbabwean forces now under way, the basis has been established for phase III of MONUC deployment. The Political Committee will take the necessary measures to ensure that all signatories fulfil, totally and in good faith, the obligations freely undertaken to make peace in the Democratic Republic of the Congo a fact.

In this context, I welcome the Secretary-General's recommendation to the Security Council that it authorize the start of phase III in accordance with the MONUC report. I also appeal to the members of the Council to support this recommendation so as to allow the broadening of MONUC operations throughout the territory of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. This would build trust among all the parties involved.

The Political Committee also understands that the future phases of the ceasefire agreement process, especially the full withdrawal of foreign forces, will require the further involvement of the United Nations to accelerate the return of peace to the Democratic Republic of the Congo. It is therefore necessary to reflect on the need for the Council to authorize the deployment of a peacekeeping force in that country. The people of the Democratic Republic of the Congo have suffered for a long time, and continue to suffer from the effects of a devastating conflict that has killed hundreds of thousands of its children, destroyed its economy and infrastructure, and spread misery among most of its population. Sixteen million of its people are now dependent on emergency food assistance.

We must allow the Congolese themselves to resolve their own internal problems, achieve genuine national reconciliation, rebuild their economy and establish a democratic society in peaceful coexistence with its neighbours in accordance with the principles and norms of international law. For that to happen, all States must respect the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

The difficulties arising in the inter-Congolese national dialogue show that certain problems have not been taken into account. We hope that the preparation of the work of Durban will take into account all pending questions so that the national dialogue will in fact be all-inclusive and fruitful.

To summarize, I would like to express my conviction that there is a great need for a return to peace in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. It will allow the transformation of the Central Africa region into a zone of peace, security and cooperation, which is a sine qua non for the harmonious development of that region's countries. To reach this dream, the international community and the Security Council in particular have a very important role to play.

I must also take advantage of this occasion to praise the commitment of the Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan, and his Special Representative to the

Democratic Republic of the Congo, Mr. Namanga Ngongi, the head of MONUC, General Diallo, and the head of the Joint Military Commission, General Mwaniki, to bring peace to the Democratic Republic of the Congo. We also praise the efforts made by all parties that led to the co-location of MONUC and the Joint Military Commission in Kinshasa, the capital of the country.

The President: I now propose to make a statement as President of the Council.

It is my honour to preside over this meeting of the Security Council with the Political Committee of the Lusaka Agreement on a framework for peace. On behalf of the Council, I extend a cordial welcome to the Ministers and representatives of Angola, Burundi, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Namibia, Rwanda, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe; the Organization of African Unity; the facilitator of the inter-Congolese dialogue; the Mouvement pour la Libération du Congo; the Rassemblement Congolais pour la Démocratie (RCD)-Goma; RCD-Kisangani; and the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

We are very pleased that the Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, has been able to join us at this very important meeting. His presence and his contribution here confirm the importance that the Security Council and the Secretary-General place on bringing peace to the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the countries of the Great Lakes region — indeed, to all of Africa, and thereby to the entire global community.

Jamaica regards it as a privilege to chair this meeting on the Democratic Republic of the Congo, given our historic bonds and heritage. Over 80 per cent of the Jamaican population springs from African descent, and we therefore share a special affinity with both the problems and the aspirations of Africa.

On 7 September last year, the Security Council Summit issued a declaration in which we committed ourselves to ensuring "an effective role for the Security Council in the maintenance of international peace and security, particularly in Africa". (*resolution 1318 (2000), annex, first paragraph*) In my contribution on that occasion, I stressed that in fulfilling our "charge to maintain international peace and security, this Council must impact on the lives of people, changing their despair to hope and liberating them from conflict." (*S/PV.4194, pp. 15-16*) We expressed our deep concern for the devastating effects of conflicts on the humanitarian conditions of the civilian population, particularly women and children. Nowhere has this been more prevalent than in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. It is a stated objective of Jamaica's presidency of the Security Council during the month of November to advance peace in all areas of the world and to give special attention to the conflicts besetting the African continent. I am therefore very privileged to preside over this meeting in furtherance of an important objective of Jamaica's membership of the Council.

At the time of our meeting last September, the prospects for peace in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the region were on the distant horizon. Since then, considerable progress has been made, and the Security Council has played a major role in support of the peace process. The Security Council mission to the region earlier this year was an important milestone on the road to peace. The deployment of the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) throughout that country has continued to have an important effect on the peace process, and the concept of operations for the deployment of phase III of MONUC, which has been provided by the Secretary-General, is now under serious consideration by the Security Council.

Today, the Security Council meets with you, our partners, in order to consolidate the gains we have achieved and to provide further impetus for making lasting peace a reality in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and in the Great Lakes region. It is part of an ongoing dialogue between the Security Council and the regional leaders to explore ways in which the Security Council and countries within the region can sustain momentum for the peace process in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. We have witnessed some positive changes in the political landscape of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the region. We must continue to build on them.

Yesterday, the Council met with the representatives of the countries of the Regional Peace Initiative on Burundi, of which most of those invited to join us today are members. We discussed the prospects for the implementation of the Arusha Peace Agreement in that country. It is undeniable that there are common interlinkages between the conflicts in Burundi and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. For this reason, a solution to the conflict in the Democratic Republic of

the Congo must be pursued at a regional level, in a holistic and comprehensive manner. In that regard, our meeting today is taking note of the Secretary-General's suggestion that the time has come for the parties to explore ways of associating Burundi more closely with the peace process in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

In our meeting today, we must seek to pay close attention to some key issues which must be resolved in order to realize sustainable peace in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and throughout the Great Lakes region.

First, there must be a credible plan for the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration or resettlement of the former combatants, especially of the so-called negative forces. In particular, we call on all States to cease support for armed groups operating in the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and call for a cessation of all hostilities throughout the country. As MONUC deploys further eastward, it is critical that the armed groups comply with and fully implement the relevant Security Council resolutions, as well as the Lusaka Agreement.

Secondly, there is a need for a comprehensive plan for the full withdrawal of all foreign forces from the territory of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, in accordance with the Lusaka Agreement and the relevant Security Council resolutions. It is imperative that all parties provide MONUC with the necessary information, as is their obligation under the relevant agreements.

Thirdly, the failure to demilitarize Kisangani remains an obstacle to peace in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. This Council must insist on compliance with its resolutions. So we reiterate our call on all parties to ensure that this issue be settled without further delay.

Fourthly, while progress has been made in the preparatory stages of the inter-Congolese dialogue, the parties must renew their commitments to the political process, and the international community must give its full support. The determining of the political future of the Democratic Republic of the Congo by the people themselves must remain a priority if there is to be a lasting peace. The commitment of all parties to a political process which will enable the widest possible participation of all groups is a first essential step towards the achievement of a democratic and inclusive system of Government, which we regard as a prerequisite to lasting peace.

Fifthly, we must pursue in earnest the commitments made to address the illegal exploitation of the natural resources of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and seek ways to ensure that revenue from these resources is channelled into the economic and social development of the country for the benefit of all its people.

Let us use this opportunity to build on the partnership between the Security Council and the United Nations as a whole, and the countries of the region. Let us use this opportunity to reaffirm our commitment to the cause of peace in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Great Lakes region. The positive steps which we have taken so far must be reinforced by our renewed commitment to peace. We owe it to the people of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the region, and it is our collective responsibility to ensure that sustainable peace is achieved.

In accordance with the understanding reached in our prior consultations, I shall adjourn this meeting now and invite the Council members and all invitees to attend the private meeting five minutes from now.

The meeting rose at 12 noon.

United Nations S/PV.4411

Security Council

Distr.: General
9 November 2001

Original: English

Official communiqué of the 4411th (closed) meeting of the Security Council

Held in private at Headquarters, New York, on Friday, 9 November 2001, at 12.15 p.m.

In accordance with rule 55 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, the following communiqué was issued through the Secretary-General in place of a verbatim record:

"At its 4411th meeting, held in private on 9 November 2001, the Security Council continued its consideration of the situation concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

"The President extended invitations in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rules 37 and 39 of its provisional rules of procedure, as appropriate, to the members of the Political Committee of the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement, Burundi and Zambia, as well as the Permanent Observer to the Organization of African Unity/African Union, and the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

"The members of the Council and the members of the Political Committee of the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement had a frank and constructive discussion."

01-63093 (E) 091101

United Nations S/PV.4412

Security Council

Fifty-sixth year

Provisional

4412nd meeting

Friday, 9 November 2001, 7.35 p.m.
New York

President:	Miss Durrant	(Jamaica)
Members:	Bangladesh	Mr. Amin
	China	Mr. Wang Donghua
	Colombia	Mr. Salazar
	France	Mr. Levitte
	Ireland	Mr. Corr
	Mali	Mr. Ouane
	Mauritius	Mr. Jingree
	Norway	Mr. Kolby
	Russian Federation	Mr. Granovsky
	Singapore	Mr. How
	Tunisia	Mr. Tekaya
	Ukraine	Mr. Krokhmal
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Harrison
	United States of America	Mr. Scott

Agenda

The situation concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

01-63034 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 7.35 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Belgium, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. de Ruyt (Belgium) took the seat reserved for him at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/2001/1058, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

I invite the representative of Belgium to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. de Ruyt (Belgium) (*spoke in French*): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the European Union. The countries of Central and Eastern Europe associated with the European Union — Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia — and the associated countries Cyprus, Malta and Turkey align themselves with this statement.

I would first like to say that the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Belgium, who is at present presiding over the Council of the European Union, would have very much liked to address the Council this evening, but he was held up by meetings that he had with the European Union's associated countries, and therefore could not be present here.

I would like, at the outset, to thank the Council for having convened a meeting on a peace process that my country, along with the rest of the European Union, follows with great interest. I wish to thank in particular the Ministers of the countries signatories to the Lusaka Agreement for their presence. I consider that their presence reflects the great significance that we all attach to the peace process, just before such an important step is taken in the deployment of the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC).

This peace process is laborious and complex. Recent developments on the ground have been rather disappointing, and the peace process has not yet reached a point of no return. That is why this coordinating meeting between the Security Council and the Political Committee of the Lusaka Agreement is so relevant. At a time when the United Nations is preparing to enter phase III of MONUC's deployment and to mobilize additional resources, it is important that the parties to the conflict show their firm commitment to the peace process. Otherwise, it seems to me that all our efforts become meaningless. This is a long-term exercise that calls at the same time for short- and medium-term actions, but whose success will nevertheless depend mainly on the will of the parties to the peace process.

This goodwill, in our view, should take tangible form immediately in three areas: the issue of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR); the withdrawal of foreign forces; and the inter-Congolese dialogue.

First, the European Union considers that all the parties to the conflict, particularly the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, should immediately halt all forms of support for armed groups. In this regard, we deplore the fact that the United Nations still does not have the information that should have been provided by the parties regarding the number, the composition and the location of armed groups on the ground. We urge the parties to provide this information, as they promised to do several months ago.

The DDR cannot be carried out randomly or piecemeal. First, MONUC must have a completely free hand in assisting the process. In this connection, I am thinking in particular of the regroupment centre in Kamina. There must also be a minimal understanding among the parties, especially between Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. It is important that those two continue their direct bilateral dialogue to reach a real breakthrough.

I would like to remind the parties that disarmament, demobilization and reintegration must take place on a voluntary and peaceful basis. Any initiative that goes against these principles is simply unacceptable. The parties to the conflict must cooperate with the United Nations and refrain from any action that could prejudice the efforts in this matter.

Finally, it is essential that the United Nations establish the appropriate structures to conduct this exercise in a coordinated and integrated way. The latest report of the Secretary-General on MONUC goes in the right direction, as it provides for the establishment of a coordination mechanism in Kinshasa and New York between MONUC, the World Bank and all United Nations agencies concerned. It is proposed that MONUC be given responsibility for managing this coordination.

Secondly, disengagement is the first significant step in the process of the withdrawal of foreign forces. That first step must lead to a second step and then to further progress. On the one hand, Kisangani must be demilitarized. We call on Rwanda to use all its influence with the Rassemblement congolais pour la démocratie (RCD-Goma) to achieve this. On the other hand, progressive deployment must be accompanied by a gradual and reciprocal withdrawal of troops. We have noted with satisfaction the withdrawal of Namibian troops and of a good proportion of the Ugandan troops. I recall that Namibia is the first signatory of the Lusaka Agreement to have withdrawn its forces in accordance with the provisions of that instrument. We sincerely hope that its example will be followed by the other States concerned. In that connection, we encourage Uganda to complete the process of withdrawal it has started, and we urge the Rwandan Government and the other Governments concerned to expedite preparations for withdrawing their troops in accordance with resolution 1304 (2000).

Finally, the inter-Congolese dialogue is another essential building block of the peace process. We do not wish to hold forth here about the poor result of the Addis Ababa meeting, which we regret, but wish rather to urge the parties to the dialogue and the facilitator, Sir Ketumile Masire, to agree as quickly as possible to hold further meetings to revive the process in order to engage in substantive dialogue on the parameters of an inclusive and democratic transition, with a realistic timetable. We remain convinced that, with good will and a spirit of compromise, the process can be put back on track. I reaffirm the support of the European Union and its member States in that connection.

The suffering of the Congolese population, the grave violations of human rights committed against it and its appalling humanitarian situation all require us to shoulder our responsibilities. We support the Secretary-General's recommendation to the Council that the third phase of MONUC deployment be started in order to sustain the momentum of the peace process, despite the risks and costs involved, in the hope that the parties to the conflict, both in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and elsewhere the region, will fully assume their moral and political responsibilities.

In other words, the Union urges the signatory States and the other parties to the Lusaka Agreement to show the political will required for the continuation of the peace process. The European Union will support the process, and it undertakes to use all its energy and influence to that end in close cooperation with the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity and all the parties concerned. At the end of this month, the President in office of the European Union, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Belgium, Mr. Louis Michel, will go to the region with the High Representative of the European Union, Mr. Javier Solana, and the External Relations Commissioner, Mr. Chris Patten. That visit will reaffirm the strong commitment of the European Union to the peace process and its solidarity with the region's long-suffering people.

The President: It is my understanding that the Security Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution (S/2001/1058) before it. If I hear no objection, I shall now put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Bangladesh, China, Colombia, France, Ireland, Jamaica, Mali, Mauritius, Norway, Russian Federation, Singapore, Tunisia, Ukraine, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1376 (2001).

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 7.45 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.4413

Security Council

Fifty-sixth year

Provisional

4413th meeting

Monday, 12 November 2001, 11 a.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Knight	(Jamaica)
Members:	Bangladesh	Mr. Rahman
	China	Mr. Tang Jiaxuan
	Colombia	Mr. Fernández de Soto
	France	Mr. Védrine
	Ireland	Mr. Cowen
	Mali	Mr. Sidibe
	Mauritius	Mr. Gayan
	Norway	Mr. Petersen
	Russian Federation	Mr. Ivanov
	Singapore	Mr. Jayakumar
	Tunisia	Mr. Ben Yahia
	Ukraine	Mr. Zlenko
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Straw
	United States of America	Mr. Powell

Agenda

Threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist acts

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01-63218 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 11.35 a.m.

Expression of condolences in connection with the crash of an American Airlines aircraft in New York

The President: Members of the Security Council have learned with deep distress and shock of the crash of an American Airlines aircraft, reportedly on its way to the Dominican Republic with some 246 passengers on board, earlier today in New York.

On behalf of the members of the Council meeting today at the level of Ministers, I wish to convey our heartfelt sympathy and condolences to the Government and the people of the United States and to the families of those who lost their lives in this terrible incident. On this sad occasion, I invite all the participants in this meeting to rise and observe a minute of silence.

The members of the Council observed a minute of silence.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist acts

The President: I am pleased to acknowledge that at this ministerial meeting of the Security Council, Bangladesh is represented by its State Minister for Foreign Affairs. China, Colombia, France, Ireland, Mali, Mauritius, Norway, the Russian Federation, Singapore, Tunisia, Ukraine and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland are represented by their Ministers for Foreign Affairs. The United States of America is represented by its Secretary of State, and Jamaica by its Minister for Foreign Affairs. Their presence is an affirmation of the importance of the subject matter to be addressed.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

Members of the Council have before them document S/2001/1060, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

I shall now give the floor to the Secretary-General.

The Secretary-General: When I addressed the General Assembly on 1 October, I applauded the Council for acting so swiftly to enshrine in law the first steps needed to carry the fight against terrorism forward with new vigour and determination. I am delighted to see today that this determination is reflected at the most senior levels of Member Governments.

Security Council resolution 1373 (2001) is a broad resolution aimed at targeting terrorists and those who harbour, aid or support them. The resolution requires Member States to cooperate in a wide range of areas, from suppressing the financing of terrorism to providing early warning, cooperating in criminal investigations and exchanging information on possible terrorist acts.

The counter-terrorism Committee, chaired by Ambassador Sir Jeremy Greenstock of the United Kingdom, has produced a work programme which sets out the focus of the Committee's work in the first 90-day period and establishes mechanisms for States to report progress on the implementation of the resolution. These reports will play an indispensable role in identifying and cataloguing existing policies and instruments. They should provide the benchmark for the international community as it assesses its ability to combat international terrorism. I would like to take this opportunity to encourage all States to ensure the full implementation of resolution 1373 (2001) and to submit their replies by late December.

I have recently established a working group to identify the longer-term implications and broad policy dimensions of the issue of terrorism for the United Nations. It will also formulate recommendations for me on steps the United Nations system might take. It brings together senior officials from the United Nations system, as well as outside experts.

The United Nations is uniquely placed to facilitate cooperation between Governments in the fight against terrorism. The legitimacy that the United Nations conveys can ensure that the greatest number of States are able and willing to take the necessary and difficult steps — diplomatic, legal and political — that are needed to defeat terrorism.

The fight against terrorism must begin with ensuring that the 12 legal instruments on international terrorism already drafted and adopted under United Nations auspices are signed, ratified and implemented

without delay by all States. It will also be important to obtain agreement on a comprehensive convention on international terrorism.

As I told the General Assembly on 1 October, I understand and accept the need for legal precision in defining terrorism. But there is also a need for moral clarity. There can be no acceptance of those who seek to justify the deliberate taking of innocent civilian life, regardless of cause or grievance.

In addition to measures taken by individual Member States, we must now strengthen the global norms against the use or proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. We must also strengthen controls over other types of weapons that pose grave dangers through terrorist use. This means doing more to ensure a ban on the sale of small arms to non-State groups; making progress in eliminating landmines; improving the physical protection of sensitive industrial facilities, including nuclear and chemical plants; and increased vigilance against cyber-terrorist threats.

While the international community's resolve to fight terrorism is a welcome development, it risks treating terrorism as a single phenomenon. The reality is that, like war, terrorism is an immensely complicated phenomenon with multiple objectives and causes, a multitude of weapons and agents and virtually limitless manifestations. The only common denominator among different variants of terrorism is the calculated use of deadly violence against civilians for political purposes.

It is, however, this common denominator that provides the United Nations with a common cause and a common agenda. I salute the Council for making such speedy progress on this vital issue. Ultimately, our success will be measured in terrorist acts thwarted and lives saved, but I am confident that the unity born of 11 September can be sustained in the months and years ahead.

The President: I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Jamaica.

The meeting of the Security Council at this high level is an expression of our firm commitment to taking appropriate measures aimed at the elimination of international terrorism. We have, without hesitation, joined in a strong condemnation of acts of terrorism, which constitute a challenge to all of us and which place an obligation on all of us to work together to defeat it.

We recognize that the fight against international terrorism will be won not by any single act of the Security Council, but only through our determination to act together. Jamaica therefore fully recognizes and supports the premise that the most effective response to international terrorism is full cooperation at the international level. The United Nations is the only forum which can effectively address this challenge to all States and to all humanity. We must join together in firm, decisive and broad-based actions to defeat this scourge.

The Security Council, acting in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, has taken the lead in adopting measures aimed at defeating the forces of terror. In resolution 1368 (2001), we expressed our readiness to take all necessary steps to respond to and combat all forms of terrorism, in accordance with the Council's responsibilities under the Charter of the United Nations. By resolution 1373 (2001), we reaffirmed in unequivocal language that any act of international terrorism constitutes a threat to international peace and security. We were decisive in setting out a range of comprehensive measures for Member States to undertake in combating terrorism.

All States are obliged to prevent and suppress the financing of terrorist acts. All States must refrain from providing any form of support and deny safe haven to perpetrators of terrorism. It is obligatory for all States to preclude anyone in their territories or jurisdictions from in any way aiding and abetting the planning, promoting, financing, executing or otherwise supporting of acts of terrorism. We reaffirm that any such support is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations.

We must ensure that the many challenges that the international community faces do not prevent us from moving forward together in our fight to defeat international terrorism. We must not allow terrorism in any form or guise to breed instability and thereby hinder our prospects for peace and development. To avoid this, we must ensure the full implementation of the measures provided in resolution 1373 (2001). The Counter-Terrorism Committee has set out guidelines which, if followed, will assist Member States in carrying out their obligations and enhance our collective capacity to fight and defeat terrorism.

However, not all States have an equal capacity to fully implement the measures provided in resolution 1373 (2001), so the international community, led by those with the capacity to do so, is enjoined to provide the necessary financial and technical assistance to those who need it to carry out their obligations effectively. While it is the obligation of all States to implement resolution 1373 (2001) fully, it is no less the responsibility of States and regional and subregional organizations with sufficient resources to provide all necessary support. This is essential if we are to succeed in the fight against international terrorism.

Secondly, there must be a renewed commitment to international efforts aimed at addressing global issues which give rise to terrorism. No cause or grievance can justify reprehensible attacks on innocent victims. But the problems of poverty; the prevalence of regional conflicts; the denial of human rights, access to justice for all and equal protection under the law; and the lack of sustainable development and environmental protection provide a fertile breeding ground for terrorism and a cover for those who perpetrate terrorist acts.

Thirdly, we must enhance coordination of efforts on national, subregional, regional and international levels to strengthen a global response to the serious challenges posed by links between international terrorism and transnational organized crime, illicit drugs, money-laundering and illegal arms trafficking — in particular the illegal trafficking in small arms and light weapons, tools of terrorism.

Jamaica is fully committed to the fight against terrorism and supports the work of the Counter-Terrorism Committee. On Saturday, Jamaica signed the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism. My Government is accelerating domestic action to achieve universality of existing conventions and other instruments against terrorism. We support ongoing efforts to elaborate the draft comprehensive convention against terrorism, and we urge all Member States to seek agreement on the final draft during this session of the General Assembly.

We in the Caribbean reiterate our commitment to work with the international community in the fight against terrorism according to international law and conventions. Acts of terrorism endanger innocent lives and the dignity and security of human beings everywhere. They threaten the stability and the social and economic development of all States and undermine global stability and prosperity. We must not resign from our commitment and our individual and collective obligation to defeat it.

I now resume my functions as President.

I now call on the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, His Excellency Mr. Tang Jiaxuan.

Mr. Tang Jiaxuan (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): First of all, on behalf of the Chinese delegation, I would like to express my deepest sympathies to the relatives and families of those who died as the result of the crash that occurred this morning.

Since 11 September, counter-terrorism has become the focus of concern of the international community. It is of great importance for the Security Council to hold the ministerial meeting on counter-terrorism at such a time, which will help strengthen and promote the fight against terrorism by the international community. I would also like to welcome the Secretary-General and thank him for his participation and important remarks.

The events of 11 September have shown that terrorism has not only posed a major threat to international peace and security but has also inflicted severe damage on the world economy. Terrorism is a brazen challenge to all of human civilization and a common enemy to humanity. All countries should adopt political, economic and judicial measures to intensify the punishment of terrorism, seriously implement the relevant Security Council resolutions, actively promote international cooperation in counter-terrorism and accede to all international counter-terrorism conventions at an early date.

China holds that the strike against terrorism should be clearly targeted and try to avoid injuring innocent people, and should be in compliance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and other commonly acknowledged norms of international law. It should benefit the long-term peace and stability of different regions and the world as a whole.

China believes that the fight against terrorism is a contest between peace and violence. We oppose linking terrorism to any specific religion or ethnicity. China also believes that there should be no double standards with regard to counter-terrorism. The international

community should take a common stand against all forms of terrorist acts, condemn them in unison and carry out a resolute fight against them.

The fight against terrorism is a protracted, complicated and arduous task. Measures should be taken to address both the symptoms and root causes of terrorism. The proper solutions to global issues such as poverty, regional conflicts and sustainable development will not only be conducive to the promotion of peace and development in the world but will also contribute to strengthening international cooperation against terrorism and to eradicating it.

The United Nations is the most representative intergovernmental organization. Its Security Council shoulders the primary responsibility for safeguarding international peace and security. The relevant resolutions adopted and the meetings held by the United Nations, including the Security Council, have played an important and irreplaceable role in fighting terrorism and promoting international cooperation. Like many other countries, China supports the United Nations and the Security Council as they continue to play a leading role in the fight against terrorism.

The next priority for the Security Council should be to give full play to the role of the Counter-Terrorism Committee, with a view to monitoring and assisting Member States in implementing fully resolution 1373 (2001). Meanwhile, the Council should pay close attention to developments in the fight against terrorism and adopt timely measures to coordinate and promote the international counter-terrorism endeavour.

It should be pointed out that it is not only the United States which is threatened by terrorism. Many other members of the Security Council present here have also suffered deeply from the scourge of terrorism. China, too, has been threatened by terrorism.

The "East Turkestan" terrorist forces have long received training, financial aid and support from international terrorist groups. On numerous occasions, they have launched various kinds of terrorist activities in the Xinjiang region of China and in other countries, and brutally slaughtered innocent people. Clearly the "East Turkestan" terrorist forces are, purely and simply, a part of international terrorism, and should be resolutely fought against.

China has always stood against terrorism in all its forms and manifestations, and has adopted a series of administrative, judicial, economic and security measures in this regard. Soon after the Security Council adopted resolution 1373 (2001), the Chinese Government issued a circular calling for strict implementation of all the provisions of the resolution. China has already acceded to nine of the existing 12 international counter-terrorism conventions. Recently, China also completed its domestic legal procedures for joining the International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings. China will soon become a signatory to the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism. We have also stepped up counter-terrorism consultation and cooperation with relevant countries and established various counter-terrorism cooperation mechanisms. China will continue its unremitting efforts to combat terrorism and promote international cooperation in counter-terrorism.

We support the document on counter-terrorism to be adopted at this meeting of the Council.

The President: I call on the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Colombia, His Excellency Mr. Guillermo Fernández de Soto.

Mr. Fernández de Soto (Colombia) (*spoke in Spanish*): I would like first of all to convey my condolences to and express the solidarity of the Government of Colombia with the Government and the people of the United States for the regrettable event that took place today.

We would like to congratulate you, Mr. President, on the outstanding role being played by Jamaica in conducting the work of the Security Council for this month of November. We would also like to pay tribute to you for your wisdom in proposing this ministerial meeting of the Council, convened to discuss a crucial item on our agenda. This will certainly provide an exceptional opportunity to follow up on the measures taken by the Council in this field and to give political impetus to their implementation.

Since the Council first discussed this problem after the terrorist acts of 11 September, Colombia has, without hesitation, supported the decisions adopted by Council members. We have reaffirmed our belief that the struggle against international terrorism is the responsibility of all countries, without exception. In this regard, the success that we achieve will depend on the extent to which we can make the principle of shared responsibility effective.

Colombia fully supports the approach that the Council has taken to this problem, in particular, its emphasis on the financing of acts of international terrorism. It is essential to take control of and dismantle such sources of financing. As the President of Colombia stated in plenary meeting in the General Assembly on Saturday, lax control of financial institutions and the existence of tax and banking havens are like giving criminals a letter of marque to continue to accumulate unlawful resources to finance death.

In this context, we must not lose sight of the harmful role played by the world market in illicit drugs as a factor in the financing of violence and terror. Most of the huge sums of money generated by this activity remains in the financial markets of the consuming countries, and a large portion of it goes to the purchase of weapons and, specifically, to the financing of terrorism. That is why, during our presidency of the Council in August, we initiated consideration of the question of the traffick in small arms and light weapons, which concluded with the issuance of an important presidential statement.

Colombia has taken significant steps to implement resolution 1373 (2001). To this end, we have embarked upon an inter-institutional endeavour involving the relevant State entities. We have introduced far-reaching criminal legislation to tackle and punish acts of terrorism, which are clearly defined and identified in our legal codes.

On 30 October, we signed the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism. We hope in the near future to accede to five further conventions. Colombia will then be a State party to 10 of the 12 Conventions of which the Secretary-General is the depositary.

We will continue to make an active contribution to the Counter-Terrorism Committee set up in accordance with resolution 1373 (2001), of which we hold one of the vice-chairmanships. We will also continue to make a resolute contribution through our chairmanship of the sanctions Committee on Afghanistan, a post that we have held since January of this year.

At the regional level, we have taken an active part in the initiatives of the Organization of American States, and in that context we will shortly begin discussions on an inter-American convention against terrorism. In this same area, Colombia holds the chairmanship of the working group on financial controls recently set up by the Inter-American Committee against Terrorism.

Acting in its capacity as a country member of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, Colombia took part in the decision by ministers for foreign affairs within the framework of that Treaty, which classified the attacks of 11 September as an attack on all members of the Treaty. That declaration was duly conveyed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

As a member of the Rio Group, we have worked to promote the implementation of resolution 1373 (2001). Last week, that Group held a meeting of legal experts from member countries in order to consider its implementation. During that meeting we noted that the recent acts of terrorism have tested existing legal structures, at the same time recognizing that the struggle against this scourge should be carried out with full respect for the rule of law, international law and human rights.

Colombia would like once again to reaffirm its categorical rejection of all acts of international terrorism, whatever their origin or motivation. We would also like to join in the political commitment required to advance the implementation of resolution 1373 (2001) and other measures adopted by the Security Council on this issue.

My country will continue to do its utmost in this struggle.

The President: I thank the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Colombia for his kind words addressed to me.

I call on the Minister for Foreign Affairs of France, His Excellency Mr. Hubert Védrine.

Mr. Védrine (France) (*spoke in French*): I wish first of all to say how sad I was to hear of the event that occurred this morning. We do not yet know the nature of that event, but I want to convey condolences to the city of New York, which has again been traumatized, and to the victims and their families.

The attacks of 11 September are a major challenge to peace and democracy. The Security Council reacted immediately by adopting resolution 1368 (2001). Pursuant to that resolution, and in

exercise of its right of self-defence, the United States has undertaken an armed response against Osama bin Laden and the Al Qaeda network and against the Taliban system that supports them. France stands in solidarity with that action.

Combating international terrorism means acting simultaneously on many fronts. The mobilization must be universal, and it is. Here, the United Nations has a key role to play. It must, first, provide the international community with strengthened legal instruments enabling it to fight terrorism, including by depriving terrorists of all financing and by ensuring that they can nowhere find support or refuge. The Security Council responded to that urgent need by unanimously adopting resolution 1373 (2001).

In the same spirit, we must act to promote the entry into force of the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism, adopted in 1999. Finally, it is important to conclude the draft comprehensive convention as soon as possible.

This mobilization also means increased cooperation among States, something to which the United Nations can make a major contribution. By setting up a counter-terrorism Committee, Security Council resolution 1373 (2001) put in place a mechanism for cooperation and encouragement which, we hope, will help States, in line with their needs, to respond to the requirements of the global coalition.

For this to be effective, regional organizations and specialized bodies must be mobilized around the same objectives. On 21 September, the European Union adopted a very broad plan of action, including a European arrest warrant and other legal, police and aviation-security measures. The new recommendations of the Financial Action Task Force on Money Laundering (FATF), adopted at Washington, D.C., on 30 October, enable its members to apply to the sources of financing of terrorism methods that they have been successfully using to combat money laundering. These also make provision for measures that can be taken by States that are not members of the FATF.

It is essential also to ensure consistency between the initiatives of these various bodies and what is being done in the United Nations. In that connection, France proposes the establishment of a forum on the financing of terrorism, with a broader membership than that of the FATF, which could, *inter alia*, be an efficient relay point for requirements formulated by the United Nations.

Acts of international terrorism clearly pose a threat to international peace and security that the Security Council must combat with the greatest robustness. The draft declaration that the Council will adopt today attests to the unanimous resolve of its members, and through them, that of the entire international community. We are determined to go forward and to face up to all aspects of this complex, long-term campaign.

The President: I call now on the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ireland, His Excellency Mr. Brian Cowen.

Mr. Cowen (Ireland): I wish, on behalf of Ireland and the Irish Government, to join other members of the Council in extending our sympathy to the United States Government and to the families of those who lost their lives as a result of the plane crash in Queens, New York, this morning.

I think we are here this morning, in this ministerial format, to assert an agenda of hope and commitment in opposition to those who wish to impose an agenda of despair and tyranny and terror. Yesterday afternoon's memorial ceremony at the World Trade Center emphasized for us, yet again, that the atrocities of 11 September challenge everything we cherish. It reconfirmed for us all that the terrorists hold in contempt everything that the United Nations embodies. Terrorists have no respect for freedom or tolerance; they have no respect for the human rights of innocent people; they have no respect for promoting diversity and pluralism; they have no respect for creeds or religions; and they certainly have no respect for the views and convictions of others.

So it has been necessary for the international community to mobilize effectively, answering what is in effect the call of duty and of honour. In continuing to do that, we have to act with courage and determination, and also with wisdom and foresight. In the immediate period ahead, we seek to bring to justice those who perpetrated these vile acts, and it is right that that should be the case. We also, of course, have to put in place provisions of law and policies and action by Governments throughout the world that will destroy the capacity of those forces to act. That means that we have to go beyond words. It means action by us all, together.

I fully subscribe to what the Secretary-General has said this morning: that all States need to sign, ratify and implement without delay the 12 existing international legal instruments in this connection. And I think that to confirm the seriousness of our intent we must ensure that we complete and agree on a comprehensive convention on terrorism, and that the definition terrorism involve the necessary legal precision and moral clarity to which the Secretary-General has referred. I do not believe that anyone in the civilized world would have any objection to or problem with defining terrorism as callous disregard for and wilful taking of innocent civilian life, or the proposition that no cause on this Earth, political or otherwise, can justify the methods that terrorism represents.

Security Council resolution 1373 (2001) of 28 September offers a blueprint for action in how to remo·e permanently the capacity of international terrorism to operate: its funds and resources, its organization and its capacity to group and re-group.

We warmly welcome the work of the Security Council Committee on counter-terrorism in laying solid foundations for full implementation of all the provisions of resolution 1373 (2001), and we congratulate its members. In implementing that resolution, we have to work together to strengthen the capacity of all States to do so effectively. That means the provision of mutual support and assistance, wherever it is necessary.

We also need to assert, strongly and powerfully, in the period ahead the indispensable role of the United Nations in tackling common threats and in achieving joint objectives and goals. The United Nations represents the foundation of international law, the focal point of international endeavour, the place where we come together to assert universal ideals and to look to new horizons of joint action. It cannot and should not be used by the international community, or any one of us, only on bad days and disregarded on good days: we need the United Nations more than ever before in a world that is becoming increasingly economically integrated but with truly dangerous fissures in its structures.

International terrorism can fester through our own complacency if we fail to tackle vigorously its capacity to act. We have now finally learned the lesson, at a terrible cost. We must also tackle the wider conditions — and there are such conditions — that can allow terrorism to survive and even flourish.

We have many challenges to meet in building a fairer international system. Making the point that the 200 richest people in the world have greater assets than the two billion people at the other end of the spectrum is not to make a philosophical point. I think it is neither wise nor secure — nor right — to continue to conduct world affairs in that way.

At a time of action against a frightening common threat, we must make sure that we do not simply ignore such realities, which are faced by many people: we would do so at our peril. It is important that, in pursuing retributive justice, we also pursue with equal seriousness the issue of distributive justice. It is necessary, of course, to assert that our most effective response to a great evil must be based not only on shared determination but also on our common values and on our commitment to help and support each other within the framework of the United Nations and the broad agenda it pursues.

Ireland supports the draft ministerial declaration before the Council.

The President: I call now on the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mauritius, The Honourable Anil Kumarsingh Gayan.

Mr. Gayan (Mauritius): May I, on behalf of my country, be allowed to convey our deepest sympathy to the families and relatives of all those persons who lost their lives this morning in the air crash in Queens.

Let me also extend my congratulations to you, Sir, on the manner in which you are presiding over this meeting of the Security Council on the very important subject of international terrorism.

The recent terrorist attacks in the United States constitute a challenge to the whole international community. They remind us of the urgent need for concerted international action to eradicate this scourge.

There is broad consensus that the time merely for sympathy for the victims of the terrorist attacks of 11 September has passed and that the time for action has arrived. The action that States are under an obligation to take is well defined in Security Council resolution 1373 (2001). There is an urgent need to take action, since the terrorists will also be taking their own measures to counteract the aforementioned resolution.

It is evident that the areas that deserve priority treatment are, first, to track all of the financial resources that are available to the terrorist networks and to take them out of their reach; secondly, to exchange information which will help in the dismantling of terrorist networks; and thirdly, to ensure that no State provides a haven to anyone associated with the terrorist networks.

We should not quibble about the definition of terrorism, because we all know that the senseless and indiscriminate taking of innocent lives can only be the work of terrorists. They have no cause to fight for, and they make no demands prior to the perpetration of their acts.

The 11 September attacks have seriously affected the economies of poor countries, which do not have the resilience of the major economies. Many millions of children will die in Africa and elsewhere as a result of those attacks.

Terrorism results in unthinkable suffering and disrupts economic and social activities around the world. Terrorists use the language of hate and reject the dignity of human life, disregarding its value. The international community must send a clear signal of its determination not to be intimidated by terrorists.

Let no one entertain any doubt as to the wickedness of terrorism. The international community condemns any person who engages in terrorist acts in the name of religion, faith or ideology. Indeed, terrorism is the enemy of the most fundamental values upheld by the United Nations, as well as by the Commonwealth and other regional organizations.

The war against terrorism is not a matter of choice but an absolute necessity. It must be won, and it is incumbent on all of us to do whatever is necessary to achieve that objective. The alternative is too terrible to contemplate. While we are engaged in the war against terrorism, the terrorists themselves are embarking on a propaganda campaign to give a veneer of morality to their criminal acts. It is critical that we win the hearts and minds of all those who might become attracted or infected by a terrorist propaganda campaign.

Poverty, hunger, disease, despair and lack of a promising future combine to make a terrible cocktail on which terrorists thrive, as it allows them to recruit and to occupy the high moral ground.

As we take those immediate measures in pursuance of Security Council resolution 1373 (2001), we cannot afford to lose sight of the long term, particularly with respect to trade and developmental issues, which alone can rescue the poor countries from the spiral of decline and deprivation.

African leaders met in Dakar and adopted a Declaration against terrorism on 17 October of this year. This confirms the strong commitment and dedication of African States in the war against international terrorism. We would like to commend Abdoulaye Wade, President of the Republic of Senegal, for this timely initiative. We are happy also to note that regional efforts are being accelerated, with a view to complementing international actions against terrorism.

My country has started proceedings towards the implementation of Security Council resolutions 1368 (2001) and 1373 (2001). In this respect, we signed the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism just yesterday, and we pledge to ratify it at the earliest possible time.

We urge Member States to work towards an early resolution of all outstanding issues, so that we can have a comprehensive road map to deal effectively with terrorism in all its aspects.

In conclusion, my delegation would like to express its support for the draft ministerial declaration which we hope will be adopted at the end of this meeting.

The President: I thank the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mauritius for the kind words he addressed to me.

I call on Mr. Jan Petersen, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Norway.

Mr. Petersen (Norway): Let my start by conveying my Government's deepest condolences to the United States and to the families of those who lost their lives in the tragic air crash in New York this morning.

The eleventh of September has made the threat of international terrorism dramatically clear. It has added a new dimension to the central role of the Security Council in the maintenance of international peace and security.

The terrorist attacks on that day were directed against all of us. Our thoughts and sympathy go to the

American people and to the bereaved families and friends from many parts of the world. The international community must stand united in condemning and combating terrorism, as we have stood united here in the Council and in the General Assembly.

We must maintain and strengthen the broad-based coalition against terrorism, irrespective of race, religion or nationality. To that end, the United Nations is the key.

Our immediate aim is to prevent further terrorist attacks and to bring the guilty to justice. Our actions are directed against a group of extremists who are exploiting a world religion for their own evil aims. They commit their crimes under the cover of fighting for legitimate causes.

International terrorism is complex and multifaceted. We can defeat it only through a sustained and comprehensive approach. At the same time, we must do our utmost to bring humanitarian assistance to those who are caught in the middle - those who have long suffered at the hands of terrorists and their supporters. We must get at the breeding grounds of terrorism. We must employ all means at our disposal: political and legal, military and financial.

The United Nations must take the lead in hammering out a long-term, comprehensive strategy for combating international terrorism. The Secretary-General may find it useful to appoint a special representative to support his efforts to that end.

Political leadership — our leadership — is urgently needed in the battle against international terrorism. We must explain to our people why there are no easy solutions. We must explain why easing the pain of the moment may endanger the possibility of finding a long-term cure. We must explain that, unless we follow our decisions and our actions through, we will play into the hands of the terrorists.

We must also continue to demonstrate that we are fighting terrorism on our own terms, upholding the very values, rights and freedoms that the terrorists so despise.

The Security Council has acted swiftly and decisively in the face of the terrorist attacks. Resolution 1368 (2001) made it clear that the attacks constituted a threat to international peace and security, and triggered the right to self-defence. The pursuit of terrorists and their backers in Afghanistan is being carried out in the exercise of that right. We fully support it.

Resolution 1373 (2001) is aimed at those who finance terrorism. In implementing the resolution, we have already taken a number of concrete steps to eliminate potential economic sources for the terrorists. We are actively taking part in the work being done here in the Security Council Counter-terrorism Committee. We are considering how best we can support countries that may require assistance.

Terrorism is a global threat to peace and security and must be countered as such. That is why the Security Council must remain at the centre of our response. That is why this meeting is both important and timely. That is why Norway will continue its active role in the Council's work against international terrorism.

The President: I call on the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, His Excellency Mr. Igor S. Ivanov.

Mr. Ivanov (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): First of all, I should like to associate myself with the words of condolence expressed at this meeting with regard to today's air disaster.

Our meeting today is profoundly symbolic. The principal body of our Organization, entrusted with primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security, is demonstrating its central coordinating role in uniting the efforts of the world community to combat the most acute threat to global stability: international terrorism.

I should like to recall that in 1999 — on the initiative of Russia, which had suffered massive attacks by international terrorists — the Council began to comprehensively consider the problem of terrorism as a threat to international peace and security.

The tragic events that took place in the United States this year, as well as terrorist crimes in other States, provide graphic evidence that in our interdependent world, in this era of globalization, one country's grief becomes the grief of the entire international community. In response to the evil deeds of the terrorists, there is a growing awareness of a simple truth: solidarity and mutual support in combating a common evil help to protect one's own country and its citizens from it.

It is now time for us to discard the hesitations and stereotypes of the past and clearly outline a strategy for future steps in the common struggle against international terrorism. The start of the international anti-terrorist coalition was the first, very important step in that direction.

Why do we need a global, comprehensive system to counter new threats and challenges? We know very well how dangerous international terrorism is in its present form, and how far-flung its networks are throughout the whole world. It is an insidious and sometimes elusive enemy. It has no nationality or clear territorial affiliation. In recent years, it has become increasingly associated with drug-trafficking and organized crime, and it manipulates enormous financial flows.

The Security Council's adoption in recent months of resolutions of unprecedented scope — and I am referring primarily to resolution 1373 (2001) — lays down a solid political and legal basis for the neutralization of the terrorist threat. I am talking here about concrete, effective measures. We believe that the specially created Counter-Terrorism Committee of the Security Council will facilitate the proper implementation of those resolutions, which are binding on all States. Russia has involved itself very actively in the work of countering terrorism.

We have repeatedly made the point that there can be no double standards. There can be no bad or good terrorists, whatever slogans they hide behind. The war against them in any part of the world must be waged robustly and decisively. However, it would be an unforgivable mistake to identify terrorism with any religion, nationality or culture. We must establish a dialogue and mutual understanding between different civilizations on the basis of the common values of protecting the life and dignity of human beings.

No less urgent a task is the creation of a single international legal space in order to combat terrorism. To this end, we need to ensure the speedy accession by all countries to the existing international anti-terrorist conventions. It is also very important to conclude the work in the United Nations on the draft comprehensive convention on combating terrorism. We are convinced that the Security Council, which bears the primary responsibility for stability in the world, should appeal to the General Assembly to adopt at the current session the draft international convention on the suppression of acts of nuclear terrorism, the first treaty in the history of the Organization aimed at combating terrorism involving the use of weapons of mass destruction.

A comprehensive approach to eradicating international terrorism means that we need to bring into play the whole spectrum of financial, political and humanitarian measures. Military means alone are not enough to resolve this problem. Poverty, illiteracy, unemployment and the lack of equal access to the benefits of scientific and technological progress force destitute people into the ranks of extremists. The United Nations and the leading financial and economic organizations and institutions of the world must redouble their efforts in order to ensure more balanced and less discriminatory conditions for global socio-economic development.

Sometimes only a few hours or minutes is enough to prevent a specific terrorist act. In order to eradicate the phenomenon of terrorism from the future of mankind we will require intensive multilateral work on the part of all members of the international community. No means should be spared to this end. After all, what is at stake are the lives, freedom and security of our citizens. Russia is with those who have involved themselves in this work, and who will definitely finish the job.

The President: I call on the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Singapore, His Excellency Mr. S. Jayakumar.

Mr. Jayakumar (Singapore): First, I would like to begin by joining you, Mr. President, and all our colleagues in the Council in conveying our condolences to the Government and the people of the United States and to the bereaved families of those who perished in today's air crash. We do not yet know what caused this crash, but the immediate consternation and considerable destruction it has caused for citizens, residents and diplomats in this city clearly demonstrate how deeply our lives continue to be affected by the events of 11 September.

I congratulate Jamaica on its timely and important initiative to convene this ministerial meeting on counter-terrorism. I also thank Ukraine for suggesting that this meeting be held.

Two months have passed since the transforming events of 11 September this year. Countering the threat of terrorism is now clearly and rightly a central global priority. The perpetrators of these horrendous crimes

must not go unpunished. They must be brought to justice to deter others from contemplating similar horrific crimes. Singapore stands with the international community in this campaign against terrorism. It is not a fight against any religion. It is not a fight against the people of Afghanistan. It is a fight against the forces of violence, intolerance and fanaticism. It is a fight for civilization, and it is a fight that we must win.

We must gird ourselves for a long effort. The threats will come in many forms. Some will be more virulent than others. Some will wax while others wane. And, like disease, even as one source of terrorism is eradicated, others will spring up or mutate. Only a determined, united, comprehensive and sustained global strategy will enable the international community to contain these malignant forces. Since 11 September, many regional and international forums have held discussions and have issued statements on terrorism. Two common threads have emerged: first, a clear condemnation of terrorism and a resolve to make common cause against it.

The challenge now is to translate statements of outrage and declarations of resolve into coherent and coordinated international action. The United Nations will play a central role in this effort. The Security Council and the General Assembly have, with unprecedented speed, passed three landmark counter-terrorism resolutions. These resolutions, particularly 1373 (2001), have established a basic legal foundation for international action against terrorism. The expeditious conclusion of negotiations on a comprehensive convention against terrorism will also serve to further strengthen the international legal framework. We welcome the adoption later today of a Security Council declaration on the global effort to combat terrorism.

But, far as we have come, we still have a long road to travel. We urgently need better practical cooperation among law enforcement, customs and intelligence agencies of all countries. These professional agencies are the cutting edge of the international campaign against terrorism. After 11 September, many Governments have tightened their national practices in these areas of law enforcement. Some have passed new legislation. These are positive developments, but they also make international coordination all the more important. We will prevail against terrorism only through closer and deeper coordination between our law enforcement agencies.

Various forums have called for the convening of an international conference to discuss the next steps in the fight against terrorism. In order to effectively contribute to the global counter-terrorism effort, the focus of any conference should be on practical and achievable concrete measures of cooperation. I suggest that, as an essential component of the preparatory process of a possible conference, our law enforcement professionals first meet with a mandate to review the adequacy of existing international mechanisms and practices for countering terrorism. Their objective should be to identify jurisdictional and other lacunae, harmonize practices, strengthen existing international counter-terrorism mechanisms and, if necessary, suggest the creation of new international mechanisms dedicated to the fight against terrorism.

The Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) leaders, who met last month in Shanghai, took such a results-oriented approach. Their astute theoretical debates favoured specific and practical counter-terrorism measures, including, among other things, to enhance airport and port security, tighten financial regulations and develop an integrated customs communications network in Asia and the Pacific. At the annual summit held in Brunei this month, leaders of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) also agreed to a practical regional strategy against terrorism centred on enhancing cooperation among our law enforcement agencies. A special meeting of ASEAN interior ministers will be convened early next year to further extend our cooperation in law enforcement and counter-terrorism.

These and other regional efforts can be the building blocks for coordinated international action against terrorism. There is no alternative, as the Secretary-General has said. Either we cooperate in the struggle and win, or we do not win at all.

The President: I thank the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Singapore for his kind words addressed to my country. I call on the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Tunisia, Mr. Habib Ben Yahia.

Mr. Ben Yahia (Tunisia) (*spoke in Arabic*): My delegation wishes to express its sincere thanks and appreciation to you, Mr. President, for your initiative to include the question of counter-terrorism on the Security Council's agenda for this month — at the request of the delegation of Ukraine — given the extreme importance of this issue.

I also wish to take this opportunity to reiterate to the American delegation, and to my friend Mr. Colin Powell, Tunisia's compassion and support to the friendly Government and people of the United States following the events of 11 September 2001. I also extend my sympathy and condolences to the bereaved families of the victims of the accident that occurred in New York today.

The phenomenon of terrorism is not a temporary or new one. Tunisia has drawn attention to the dangers of terrorism since the early 1990s, and in various forums has called for the need to establish an international framework for combating this phenomenon.

On the national level, Tunisia has found efficient solutions through the implementation of a comprehensive strategy — political, economic, social, cultural and educational — as well as strengthening the rule of law and government institutions, thereby distancing ourselves from threats of terrorism and violence.

On the international level, we believe that it is time for the international community, first, to unite its efforts in order to eradicate the phenomenon of terrorism, its structural and financial bases and its means of disseminating information. In this regard, Security Council resolution 1373 (2001) constitutes a solid basis that enables the international community to move from rhetoric to effective action in order to contain the dangers of this phenomenon. This resolution also constitutes an appropriate international framework within which to elaborate an international, integrated preventive and coercive strategy that tackles terrorism.

Secondly, it is also time that the international community cooperate and coordinate efforts in order to elaborate a rigorous plan of action to combat terrorism in all its forms and manifestations: religious, ethnic or political. In this regard, Tunisia is determined to continue cooperating and contributing at all levels with the international community in order to establish a comprehensive and consensual code of conduct to combat terrorism and to set up an adequate mechanism to achieve that goal. In this regard, the Organization of African Unity and the Organization of the Islamic Conference have adopted a proposal, to which Tunisia contributed and which led to the adoption of a number of important decisions. I wish to draw the attention of Council members to the document that has been circulated today, which includes reference to the African mechanism for crisis management and the Organization's position on terrorism.

Thirdly, all States should explicitly and genuinely commit themselves to deny any direct or indirect assistance, including granting political asylum, to persons whose actual or tacit participation in terrorist acts has been proved. All States should also, in cooperation with each other, prevent terrorist networks from moving about freely under the cover of civil society organizations, and should deprive these networks of any means of carrying out their activities. In this respect, we should be very vigilant and alert vis-à-vis their exploitation of modern information technology to spread the culture of extremism, violence and provocation.

The debate that took place in the General Assembly after the events of 11 September 2001 has enabled the international community to take a unified stance on and condemn terrorism. We welcome, in this regard, the conclusions of that debate, particularly the following: the call to avoid confusing Islam with the acts of certain extremist terrorist groups that have no relationship whatsoever with the religion, which is one of tolerance, mediation and moderation; the affirmation of the rights of people to self-determination in accordance with the Charter and within the framework of international legality; and the call for strengthening international cooperation and solidarity with a view to eliminating the factors of frustration and deprivation in the world and to finding solutions to pending international issues, particularly the question of Palestine. By doing so, we ensure that those problems are not used by terrorist and extremist movements to destabilize the world.

We also support the conclusion calling for combating the manifestations of poverty and underdevelopment. In fact, the future of world security, stability, and development depends upon the degree to which we consecrate the principles of equality, justice and solidarity between peoples. In this regard, Tunisia has proposed the creation of a world solidarity fund with the aim of taking rapid action in the poor regions of the world.

Consistent with our support of resolution 1373 (2001) and its requisites, we also support the resolution that will be adopted by the Council today. Finally, I

would like to mention a call addressed last Wednesday by President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali of Tunisia, on the occasion of the fourteenth anniversary of the Change of 7 November 1987, to world leaders, to the forces of good and men of wisdom to intensify their efforts in order to prevent relations between peoples, particularly in these delicate times, from veering towards the resurgence of confrontation between religions, which are in their essence noble objectives, sources of tolerance, dialogue, and solidarity.

The President: I thank the distinguished Minister for Foreign Affairs of Tunisia for his kind words addressed to me. I call on the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, Mr. Anatoliy Zlenko.

Mr. Zlenko (Ukraine): We would like to express our heartfelt condolences to the relatives of those killed in today's plane crash. It might be fitting for us to look back to the turn of the nineteenth century, which witnessed a series of deadly terrorist attacks. In 1894, the French President, Sadi Carnot, was assassinated. In 1897, Empress Elizabeth of Austria was stabbed, and the Spanish Prime Minister, Antonio Canovas, was killed. In 1900, the Italian King, Umberto I, was killed, and in 1901 the United States President, William McKinley, was assassinated. At that time, terrorism became the leading preoccupation of politicians, police, journalists and writers — from Dostoevsky to Henry James. If world leaders had decided at that time to assemble, most of them would have insisted on giving terrorism top priority on their agenda. Unfortunately, they did not do so.

We know the history of the twentieth century very well. Had those leaders gathered and discussed the threats that were common to all nations at that time, maybe some of the worst pages of the bloodiest century in the history of civilization could have been prevented.

It is only natural that the Security Council convene at this critical juncture to discuss an issue that has become a major concern for all of humanity. And it is precisely the Security Council, which, by virtue of its powers, is bound to formulate a unified response to these threats and to make its decisive input in setting up a comprehensive United Nations policy against the scourge of terrorism.

The terrorist attacks of 11 September turned a new page in the history of mankind. They shocked the conscience of humanity and left a deep scar in the lives of millions of people. Now, the international community cannot afford to remain unprepared and ill-equipped in the face of new threats, because the next move by terrorists may result in a catastrophe of global proportions. This moment also represents a unique opportunity for humanity to show its maturity and unity.

Ukraine has clearly defined its place in the ongoing global efforts to combat international terrorism. My country's stance was reaffirmed by the President of Ukraine at a recent international conference in Warsaw, Poland, which brought together the leaders of 17 States of Eastern and Central Europe. We endorse the plan of action adopted at the conference and consider it a meaningful and powerful contribution to the worldwide struggle to eradicate this crime. Ukraine intends to continue to provide all possible assistance to the multinational anti-terrorist coalition, by using, inter alia, the capacities of the group of States comprising Georgia, Ukraine, Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan and Moldova (GUUAM) and the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Organization.

This Council has already taken the first step in setting the necessary framework for a global response to international terrorism by adopting resolution 1373 (2001). We emphasize the need to pursue its full and consistent implementation by all States. I have no doubt that the Security Council and its counter-terrorism Committee will continue to focus their primary attention on this mission in the months ahead.

But this is only part of the complex tasks that confront this Organization in this multifaceted undertaking. Others include addressing such global diseases as arms smuggling, drugs production and trafficking and money laundering. We have to eliminate the hatred and ethnic and religious intolerance that continue to constitute a breeding ground for numerous conflicts. We also have to resolve the problems related to the non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, their means of delivery and related technologies. All these issues have acquired additional significance in the aftermath of the recent events.

The road ahead of us is long and bumpy. But still, the enormity of the task should not discourage us from doing what we ought to do. We believe that the present meeting will become an important step along the way

and will help to consolidate international resolve to fight terrorism in all its forms and manifestations.

The President: I now call on the Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, His Excellency The Right Honourable Jack Straw, MP.

Mr. Straw (United Kingdom): Like other colleagues, I would like to express my profound sorrow at the news early this morning of the aeroplane crash in this city of New York and to offer the sincere condolences of the Government of the United Kingdom to the loved ones of the victims, to the people of New York and, through you, Secretary Powell, to the Government and people of the United States. Any such loss of life happening at any time in any country would be terrible, but I believe that we all understand that the news of this disaster, whatever its cause, at this time was bound to be doubly traumatic for the residents of New York City and for the people of the United States as a whole.

Mr. President, may I express my thanks for you to calling this timely meeting and for your chairmanship of the meeting.

Yesterday at 11 a.m., 11 November, people in the United Kingdom stopped doing what they were doing for two minutes to remember those servicemen and women who have been killed in the course of duty, fighting to uphold the values of human dignity, human rights and freedom that we all hold dear. They do this every year. In the last 50 years, there has been only one year when no British citizen has died in this cause.

The United Nations has its roll of honour as well — alas, too long — of citizens of the world community who have sacrificed their lives for the cause of peace and for the principles of this United Nations.

As we all know, 11 November had a new meaning this year — exactly two months since thousands of innocent people lost their lives in the heinous terrorist attacks on New York and on Washington. We should never forget that a third of the nations of the world lost their own nationals in that one single terrorist act.

Terrorism is not new in the world, and, sadly, very far from new in the United Kingdom, where over the last 30 years we have lost more than 3,000 of our people as victims of terrorist acts. But on 11 September the world saw terrorism on an unprecedented, horrifying scale. My Government, the British Government, has a simple message for terrorists and those who support terrorism: terrorism, the deliberate targeting of innocent people for political ends, is criminal, and there is no political, religious or ideological cause which can possibly justify the use of such indiscriminate violence.

I am glad to say that the international resolve is strong. The declaration which the Security Council will adopt today sets out the unequivocal condemnation of all acts of terrorism. Council resolution 1373 (2001) was an historic event: the first resolution to impose obligations on all States to respond to the global threat of terrorism. Its implementation has to be a priority for every Member of the United Nations in collaboration with, and assisted by, this Council's Counter-Terrorism Committee.

I am glad to recall that in the year 2000, when I had the privilege of being the United Kingdom's Home Secretary, we were able significantly to strengthen our anti-terrorism laws, and we are now taking further measures fully to meet the requirements of resolution 1373 (2001). Some of these new measures are before the United Kingdom Parliament this week. The overall aim of these changes is to reinforce the civil liberties that really matter — like the right to life itself and the right to live without the fear of the terrorist bomb or the terrorist bullet. We are also cutting back on the opportunities for terrorist suspects to abuse or to exploit the freedoms of the United Kingdom, freedoms which the same terrorists themselves seek to destroy.

The United Kingdom has ratified the 12 existing United Nations conventions, and we urge others to accelerate their work to do so. We will continue to work to complete the comprehensive convention on terrorism.

It is the view of the United Kingdom that we have actively to confront terrorism, the financing of terrorism, the drugs trade of terrorists and the States which harbour terrorists. The message that must go from here is that we are all united in our resolve and our actions to defeat terrorism. In that regard, the news from the north of Afghanistan of military advances is welcome. It can only be the first step, if an essential one, to the overall liberation of Afghanistan, to the establishment there of a broad-based, representative and multi-ethnic Government, and to our goal of a

world free from the twin scourges of terrorism and of war.

The President: I thank the Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland for his kind words addressed to me.

I now call on the Secretary of State of the United States of America, His Excellency Mr. Colin Powell.

Mr. Powell (United States): Mr. President, let me begin by expressing my thanks to you, to the Secretary-General and to all of my colleagues for your expressions of solidarity and your condolences on this tragic incident of this morning. The reports that I have so far suggest preliminarily that it is an accident, and let us hope that turns out to be the case, even though it is nonetheless a tragic event for those who lost loved ones. The majority of those aboard were Dominicans on their way back to the Dominican Republic. So, a special note to our Dominican friends here at the United Nations on this loss of life.

I also want to express my thanks to Jamaica and Ukraine for their leadership in convening this session. Since this is my first appearance before the Security Council in this Chamber as Secretary of State of the United States of America, I am sure you will understand that it is a particular treat and an honour, Sir, to have Jamaica in the chair as President.

Mr. President, fellow Ministers, friends and allies in the coalition against terrorism, action is needed, and action is needed now. Two months ago yesterday, citizens from many of the nations represented in this room were victims of savage attacks by terrorists here in New York. All of your delegations saw and felt the results of that violence, the wreckage that still smolders less than two miles from this Chamber. Yesterday at the site President Bush, joined by Secretary-General Annan and the President of the General Assembly, Foreign Minister Han, commemorated the loss of over 500 of your citizens and the thousands of other innocents who lost their lives on that day.

Those who seek to define terrorism need look no further. No one can defend such heartless acts against innocent people. This is not about a clash of civilizations or religions. It was an attack on civilization and religion themselves. This is what terrorism means.

Now let me share with the Council what the United States is doing about it and what we hope others will do. The United States is taking the fight against terrorism directly to the terrorists and to their supporters. We have declared war on all terrorist organizations with a global reach. As President Bush made clear to the General Assembly, because these organizations are global, we need the support of all of our partners in the international community. Specifically, we need the help of police forces, intelligence services and banking systems around the world to isolate and eradicate our common enemies wherever they may hide.

The United States is grateful that so many nations and so many international organizations have responded so quickly and so forcefully. The American people were heartened by worldwide solidarity after the attacks. The swift action taken by this body and by the General Assembly on 12 September made it clear that the perpetrators and supporters of terrorism will be held accountable. The Security Council took a critical step forward by its adoption of resolution 1373 (2001) a little over two weeks after the attacks. Resolution 1373 (2001) is a mandate to change fundamentally how the international community responds to terrorism. It requires us to cooperate to target terrorists' ability to solicit and move funds, to find safe haven, to acquire weapons and to move across international borders.

For many, implementation will involve complicated and difficult challenges to their financial and legal systems, changes to the established ways of doing things, changes aimed at choking off the funding and weaponry that sustain these terrorist groups, changes in the way we cooperate to find and bring terrorists to justice and to safeguard borders. The Security Council has already got off to an excellent start by setting up a Committee under able chairmanship to make the call for concerted action a reality. States are starting to work together to cut off the financial resources that are the oxygen of terrorist groups. We have already seen Council members support the immediate freezing of the assets of over 120 persons and entities that the United States identified to the United Nations Afghan sanctions Committee. The Council is well situated to coordinate specialized training and assistance to help countries deal with rapid financial flows and regulatory loopholes. To be effective, resolution 1373 (2001) demands a new resolve. As President Bush said, its obligations are urgent and binding. States must now work together, both bilaterally and multilaterally.

But the war on terrorism starts within each of our respective, sovereign borders. It will be fought with increased support for democracy programmes, judicial reform, conflict resolution, poverty alleviation, economic reform and health and education programmes. All of these together deny the reasons for terrorists to exist or to find safe havens within those borders.

The United States stands ready to provide technical assistance, ranging from aviation security to financial tracking measures and law enforcement. We welcome initiatives by others in these fields, and we are ready at any time to exchange information about terrorism and to cooperate in other ways to combat the common enemy and the common threats that we all face.

There is more. We must consider the integrity of international transmission systems, such as the mail system. We must consider the essential nature of the Internet when telephones and mail fail. A few weeks ago, such subjects might have elicited little attention. Today, we can understand that inaction can have grave consequences. In each of these areas, there are important roles for the United Nations and for each of our countries to play. We are grateful for the help of the many that have joined in the fight. We believe that out of this great tragedy, a new, common purpose has arisen.

No greater threat to international peace and security exists in the world today. And through this body, we have established and are establishing the tools to build a more robust defence. It is time now to put those tools to work.

The President: I thank the Secretary of State of the United Sates of America for his kinds words concerning Jamaica.

I call on the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Malians Abroad of Mali, His Excellency Mr. Modibo Sidibe.

Mr. Sidibe (Mali) (*spoke in French*): I would like to join my colleagues in conveying the sympathy and condolences of the Government of Mali to the families of the victims of the tragic aeroplane crash this morning.

Mali welcomes our examination of the important question of threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist acts in today's formal meeting of the Council under your leadership, Mr. Minister. My delegation is grateful to the Jamaican delegation, in particular to Ambassador Patricia Durrant, for taking the initiative of convening such a meeting, which enables us to further the open exchange of views on this subject.

I would like to welcome the presence of the Secretary-General as well as his important statement, which affirms the clear resolve of the United Nations to wage the battle against terrorism. I would also like to take this opportunity to reaffirm that the Government of Mali firmly condemns the base acts of terrorism that have plunged the United States into grief, and to reiterate the solidarity of the Government and the people of Mali with the Government and the people of the United States. I would also like to reaffirm our determination to combat terrorism in all its forms and manifestations.

The events of 11 September, beyond their tragic nature, amply remind us of the vulnerability of the current international system. In fact, no State seems to be safe from the scourge of terrorism. That is who it is now more necessary than ever for all of us to work together constructively, resolutely and on the basis of consensus to deal with this threat.

Mali reiterates its firm condemnation of all forms of terrorism, whether perpetrated by individuals, groups or States. We believe that terrorist acts targeting innocent individuals are criminal because they violate human rights and the sovereignty and integrity of States and are contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

My Government takes the view that we need to arrive as soon as possible at a precise definition of international terrorism in all its forms and manifestations. In this regard, we welcome the substantial progress made in the General Assembly on the elaboration of a comprehensive convention on terrorism to fill the gaps in the existing framework of international law.

Combating terrorism also requires us to tackle everything that feeds terrorism, such as poverty and regional conflicts. This will be a long-term undertaking requiring enhanced international cooperation in the framework of a concerted global strategy. Such a strategy under the auspices of the United Nations involves the signing and ratifying of existing legal instruments, as well as assistance to developing

countries in order to enhance their national capacity to combat international terrorism.

In this regard, Mali reaffirms its full support for Security Council resolution 1373 (2001), which marks an important step in the international community's awareness in the struggle to combat terrorism. The Council has also placed front and centre the urgent need for cooperation among States to combat terrorism and defeat the networks of terrorist movements the world over by denying them havens and financial and logistical support. My Government has already taken, and will continue to take, all steps necessary to implement these important measures.

At the level of Africa, my country welcomes the holding in Dakar on 17 October 2001 of the African meeting against terrorism, which culminated in the adoption of the Dakar Declaration, recommending, among other things, the rapid signing and entry into force of the Convention of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) on terrorism. In this regard, I would like to recall that my country has just ratified that convention, as it has all United Nations conventions. I would also like to note that the Central Organ for conflict management of the OAU met here yesterday for a ministerial-level meeting and issued a number of recommendations to strengthen Africa's resolve and capacity to combat terrorism. In so doing, African leaders clearly expressed their conviction and resolve concerning the need to make Africa a continent free from any act of terrorism and any support for terrorism of any kind. In this context, my country reaffirms its full recognition of the urgent need to convene, under United Nations auspices, an international conference on terrorism as soon as possible.

In conclusion, I should like to stress that my country, convinced of the relevance of today's meeting, will vote in favour of the draft resolution before us, believing that it makes a complementary political contribution to measures already adopted by the Security Council.

The President: I thank the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Malians Abroad for his kind words addressed to Ambassador Durrant.

I call on the State Minister for Foreign Affairs of Bangladesh, His Excellency Mr. Reaz Rahman.

Mr. Rahman (Bangladesh): Let me begin by conveying the warmest greetings of the newly elected Government of Prime Minister Begum Khaleda Zia and the people of Bangladesh to you, Sir, your Government and the friendly people of Jamaica. We are indeed happy to see you presiding over our deliberations and know that we shall benefit from your guidance and wisdom.

I take this opportunity to add our voice to the expressions of deep shock and anguish over the crash of the American Airlines flight in New York and to offer our heartfelt condolences to the bereaved families.

The dastardly attacks of 11 September devastated us all. The enormity of the human tragedy has been simply overwhelming. These attacks have been deeply imprinted on our consciousness. People from more than 80 countries, including many from my country, Bangladesh, perished in the carnage. It was indeed an attack on us all. We unequivocally condemn these acts of violence and express our total solidarity with the Government and people of the United States. We stand united with the international community and are part of the international coalition in taking action against the perpetrators of such crimes.

This meeting at the ministerial level is a reflection of the common resolve and determination of the Council to confront and combat terrorism in all its forms and manifestations, wherever and by whomever committed. Terrorism poses a threat to international peace and security, as well as to global economic stability. In the context of this ominous development, an additional responsibility of a vital dimension has accrued to the Council. The international community has unambiguously recognized the role that this Council, and indeed the United Nations as a whole, must play at this critical time. What is more important now is to understand the impact of the attacks on the evolution of international relations in the long run, both politically and economically.

Clearly, the global situation has undergone a radical transformation in the wake of 11 September. In this context, it has become all the more necessary for the Council to play its role in a balanced, creative and proactive manner, in line with its Charter obligations. While the Council must authorize action against the perpetrators, it should define the parameters of such actions in such a way that innocent people do not have to pay for the crimes of others. At the same time, the Council must put in place a set of preventive measures

so that terrorism finds no climate in which to grow or flourish.

These are daunting tasks before the Council. Nonetheless, since this is a global problem, we need to develop a global, multidimensional, inclusive and long-term comprehensive approach that also takes into account the wider connotations of the problem. It is also critically important that we allow the Member States to contribute to international efforts to combat terrorism in accordance with their capacity.

Bangladesh's position on terrorism is clear and consistent. We have always sought to fulfil our international responsibilities in this regard. Apart from expressing our political commitment, we have initiated steps at our national level to fulfil our obligations, in accordance with Security Council resolution 1373 (2001) of 28 September 2001. In this connection, we are happy to note that cognizance has been taken of the need to provide international support, assistance and expertise for implementing the relevant resolutions, as emphasized by the counter-terrorism Committee.

It might be worthwhile to mention here that Bangladesh is examining the United Nations anti-terrorism conventions with a view to becoming a party to some of them soon. We shall actively contribute in the adoption of a comprehensive convention on terrorism. In our own region, we have already adopted the 1987 South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) Regional Convention on Suppression of Terrorism. This instrument provides a framework for greater coordination and cooperation among SAARC members in implementing resolution 1373 (2001). We hope that our effort to reinvigorate the SAARC process will accelerate such a process.

In our common struggle against international terrorism, it is extremely important that the Security Council remain united and effective. In order to achieve this objective, perhaps a mechanism could be explored to coordinate the work of the Council with that of the General Assembly in this important area. A great degree of international solidarity has already emerged to combat terrorism. We must try to retain and strengthen this spirit of cooperation.

Bangladesh supports actions to bring the perpetrators to justice. At the same time, we feel that it is equally important to ensure that the interests and well-being of innocent civilian populations are protected in pursuing that objective, consistent with the existing practice of protecting the interests of civilians in conflict situations. We strongly urge the Council to remain alert to this issue and to address it with care and compassion.

In conclusion, let me state that we have full faith in the ability of the international community to address this new challenge and Bangladesh remains committed to stand by the international efforts to combat terrorism. In this context, Bangladesh supports the adoption of the draft resolution before us today.

The President: I thank the State Minister for Foreign Affairs of Bangladesh for his kind words addressed to me.

It is my understanding that the Security Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution (S/2001/1060) before it. If I hear no objection, I shall now put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Bangladesh, China, Colombia, France, Ireland, Jamaica, Mali, Mauritius, Norway, Russian Federation, Singapore, Tunisia, Ukraine, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1377 (2001).

The Security Council has thus concluded its business for this meeting.

The meeting rose at 1.30 p.m.